

# Daily Report

# Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-250 Tuesday 29 December 1992

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NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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#### Cameroon

#### Opposition Supporters, Security Forces Clash

AB2812141592 Paris AFP in English 1341 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Yaounde, Dec 28 (AFP)—Opposition supporters and security forces clashed in the northwestern Cameroon city of Bamenda Monday after rumors that authorities planned to take a key opposition leader from his home there. Informed sources contacted by telephone said there was no immediate news of casualties. They said traffic was virtually paralysed, with demonstrators barricading many of the roads in Bamenda, the provincial capital of that English speaking part of Cameroon.

Bamenda is the stronghold of Social Democrat Front [SDF] leader John Fru Ndi, who has been under house arrest there with 140 other people since late October.

The sources said trouble erupted late Sunday [27 December] when there was a power cut and SDF militants poured into the streets and headed for Ndi's house, fearing security forces were about to spirit him away to an unknown destination. Territorial Administration Ministry sources said the rumours were baseless, and accused the opposition of deliberately whipping up tension.

A prison official here meanwhile disclosed that another opposition leader from the northwest, Victorin Hameni Bieleu, was among 177 people transferred to Yaounde's central prison after a Bamenda court last week ordered their release.

Bieleu, head of the Union of Democratic Forces, which also draws support from French-speaking Cameroonians, and the others had been held for questioning after a state of emergency was declared in the northwest.

Justice Minister Douala Moutome has voiced reservations about the court ruling, querying its competence in the matter. Informed sources at the court in Bamenda said the public prosecutor had lodged an appeal.

#### 'Thousands' in Streets To Support Fru Ndi

AB2812165592 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 28 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Crowds of people in Cameroon's northwest city of Bamenda came out on the streets last night to protest against rumored plans by security forces to remove opposition leader John Fru Ndi from his home. He has been under house arrest since October when there were violent protests by supporters of his party, the SDF [Social Democratic Front], at the declaration of President Paul Biya winner of the disputed elections. Last night, protesters put up barricades and were apparently teargased. SDF spokesperson Bo Herbert was watching events as he explained to Audery Brown:

[Begin recording] [Herbert] Thousands of people came out in the streets of Bamenda yesterday evening and stayed out all night long because the information has reached the population that security forces would be coming to take away Mr. Fru Ndi and his supporters, so the people spent the entire night out in the streets. They were lots of gunshots from the people, from the security forces. Mostly they fired tear gas and fired bullets into the air. And we had reports at about 0100 this morning that about three people were injured, one of them seriously, and that they would be in the government hospital here in Bamenda.

[Brown] Has it been confirmed that they were, in fact, trying to move Mr. Fru Ndi?

[Herbert] Well, two nights ago, six coaches arrived from Yaounde and it was said then that their intention was to take the detainees up at the maximum security prison, BMM [Brigade Mixte Mobile], here in Bamenda, and all those held under house arrest with Mr. Fru Ndi in his compound. Three of those coaches returned to Yaounde two days with the 173 detainees of the maximum prison and three of the buses are still here so the suspicion was that they were going to come take Mr. Fru Ndi last night. Information that we have after this moment indicates that eight truck loads would have left Yaounde and few plane loads would have left (Pouta Bar), which is the air force base for Cameroon, in the direction of Bamenda with the intention of executing the plan tonight.

[Brown] Are these truck loads transporting soldiers?

[Herbert] They are truck loads of gendarmes officers, yes.

[Brown] And as far as the detainees are concerned, they have definitely been moved and none has been released.

[Herbert] None of them has been released. Information that we have indicates that they have been moved into the central prison at Nkonengue which is just in the outskirts of the center of Yaounde town.

[Brown] And at the moment what is happening outside Mr. Fru Ndi's house?

[Herbert] At the moment, the crowd—about 10,000 people—have been out here all morning singing and dancing, and telling the soldiers that they will not let them pass if they have to take Mr. Fru Ndi away, unless they kill them in the process. At this moment, just before I came back from the back of the house, a group of old, elderly women had taken off all their clothes and were doing a traditional rite which is called (takabang) here, which men are not supposed to see at all, and it is supposed to be like a kind of curse. And this is the instrument all women have been using to turn away the security forces.

[Brown] I see. So where do you see the situation ending?

[Herbert] Well. I think that tonight there may be a lot of trouble in Bamenda. Last night already, the soldiers were a little unprepared for what happened because nobody foresaw that people were going to come out and there was call for people to come out. But tonight, people are like aware of the fact that soldiers are coming in reinforcement to take Mr. Fru Ndi away and the soldiers are coming prepared to fight back at the crowd. So I think there is a confrontation building up and there would be no surprise for me if tomorrow morning we talked about lots of deaths. [end recording]

#### Minister Denies Fru Ndi in Danger

AB2812210092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] In Cameroon, tension is high again, mainly in Bamenda, where Social Democratic Front [SDF] leader John Fru Ndi, has once again come under heavy pressure from the Yaounde authorities. Jear. Mater Ndi has the details:

[Begin Ndi recording] Everything stemmed from a persistent rumor that the SDF leader and 140 supporters, locked up in the [name indistinct] Palace in Bamenda for two months now, have been taken to an unknown place. The citizens, who were concerned about a long power outage yesterday evening, went to the vicinity of Mr. Fru Ndi's residence and erected roadblocks around it and on the highways in Bamenda, which is still under a state of emergency. And as expected, the security forces used teargas to disperse them. The interim number of injured people has reached about 30. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Let us now listen to Alexander Baku, political adviser to SDF leader, giving his version of the events. He talked to Raphael Mbadinga:

[Begin recording] [Baku] The military presence has been increased, and yesterday evening, the soldiers [word indistinct] the SDF leader's house. Power was cut in Bamenda and the citizens reacted. We get the impression that the government is trying to carry out genocide against the citizens of Bamenda because increasing the pressure now, at the end of the year, is not necessary. We were expecting the head of state to calm the situation, but on the contrary, he has sent soldiers to terrorize not only the inhabitants, but also Mr. Fru Ndi, who won the elections in October.

[Mbadinga] Do you have an idea how many victims there were in these incidents in Bamenda?

[Baku] I called the colonel commanding the military detachment with whom I have been discussing events. He told me that the soldiers were in the streets asking the citizens to go home. When a bus full of soldiers headed for the SDF leader's house, there was total confusion because the citizens took to the streets, and it should be stressed that those who clashed with the army were not armed. Before the telephones were cut, I called Mr. Fru Ndi's house and was told that gunshots were heard. We

cannot tell you exactly the number of victims, but I am very sure that there are many dead. [end recording]

Now let us listen to the reaction of Augustin Kontchou, minister of state in charge of communications, who has denied the allegations of John Fru Ndi's adviser. He talked to Guy Bertrand Mapangou:

[Begin recording] [Kontchou] It is not true that there were clashes in Bamenda and that the security forces allegedly shot into the crowd and that there were many deaths. That is wrong. What is true is that yesterday evening, there were rumors in Bamenda that Mr. Fru Ndi and others detainees would be taken away, and that Mr. Fru Ndi's life was in danger. Some of his supporters reacted by trying to erect roadblocks. The security forces considered this a provocation, but did not intervene since it was getting dark. The roadblocks were cleared this morning.

[Mapangou] [words indistinct] is Mr. Fru Ndi considered a political detainee?

[Kontchou] We do not consider Mr. Fru Ndi to be a political detainee but he is somebody who needs to be watched in violent situations which can result in common crimes.

[Mapangou] Is it true that telephones and electricity have been cut at his house?

[Kontchou] Mr. Fru Ndi is not in the situation you imagine. He is at home and the other people with him are not forced to remain there. They can leave. He is the only person who must remain. The other people in his house are free to come and go. [end recording]

This new incident occurred after an invitation to attend the inauguration of President-elect Bill Clinton was sent to Mr. Fru Ndi. According to the SDF leader, only the departure of Paul Biya can help relaunch the democratic process in the country. [passage omitted]

#### North-West State of Emergency Lifted 29 Dec

AB2812191092 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] By a presidential decree signed this evening, the state of emergency in the North-West Province has been uplifted beginning tomorrow [29 December].

Meanwhile, a communique, signed by the secretary general at the presidency of the Republic, says the decision has been taken following the proposal of the prime minister. It further maintains that the decision had also been influenced by a series of consultations with several political leaders, and that the situation in that province has returned to normal.

The head of state has instructed the prime minister, the communique adds, to set up a commission in charge of assessing the magnitude of the damage caused during the violence that followed the last presidential election with the intention of assisting the victims.

#### Fru Ndi, Minister Comment

AB2912123792 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] After this weekend's incidents in Bamenda, northwest Cameroon, following the transfer of more than 170 prisoners to Yaounde prison against the orders of the town's high court to have them released, the worst was expected to happen. But, it came as a surprise yesterday when it was announced that the state of emergency that has been in force since 27 October in this northwestern region—the stronghold of opposition leader John Fru Ndi—would be lifted as of today. The presidential decree states that the head of state seeks by this decree to give priority to national reconciliation. However, this does not seem to convince the opposition, which describes the measure as a political maneuver. Let us listen to Mr. Fru Ndi, who is interviewed by [name indistinct]

[Begin Fru Ndi recording in English fading into French translation] I think that the government statement stating that they have lifted the state of emergency in the Northwest Province is a fake. They announced it today [28 December], stating that it will come into force as from tomorrow [29 December]. Meanwhile, they brought in lots of soldiers—more than 100—from Bafoussam, (?Gata), Yaounde, and 200 more from Douala and the Southwest [Province]. They are, at this very moment, firing teargas all over the town. The government cannot say that it has lifted the state of emergency and at the same time send military reinforcements to harass the people. A lot of Bamenda residents have been looted and brutalized. Last night, the soldiers threw teargas injuring many people, some of whom are still in the hospital. [end recording]

Information Minister Augustin Kontchou denies this and expresses the view that the situation in Bamenda has improved within the past two months.

[Begin recording] [Kontchou] Since the conditions have improved and calm has returned, order can now be maintained by the usual means.

[Reporter] Mr. Kontchou, John Fru Ndi, whom we talked to on 28 December on the phone, says that military reinforcements have been sent to Bamenda. Does this not contradict the lifting of the state of emergency?

[Kontchou] No, no, no, it does not contradict the lifting of the state of emergency at all since the lifting of the state of emergency does not mean that order will no longer be maintained. Reinforcements have not been sent to Bamenda; some troops are to be withdrawn and replaced by others. Therefore, those who are tired will leave on 28 and 29 December. It is certainly necessary to have a minimum number of security forces present in Bamenda, in spite of everything. [end recording]

Officially, the 27 and 28 December incidents in Bamenda resulted in three injured persons. On 28 December, France expressed deep regret over the situation in Cameroon and reiterated that it expected the spirit of dialogue to prevail.

#### President Commutes Death Sentences, Jail Terms

AB2912115092 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The president of the Republic has signed a decree commuting death sentences to jail terms and another reducing prison terms. A third decree also issued today organizes the secretariat of state for internal security. George Arrey has a personal translation of the decree commuting and reducing sentences.

[Begin recording] From our translation, the first decree commutes the death sentences passed on some citizens. The decree commits to 20 years of imprisonment the death sentence against persons found guilty of theft committed either with violence and neither causing death nor injury as previewed by Articles 277 and 279 of the Penal Code with an arm, [word indistinct], forceful breakthrough, the use of a false key or the use of vehicle.

Article I of the second decree reduces prison terms of persons definitely condemned on the date of signature of this decree. This includes those whose death sentences had once been commuted to life imprisonment as of 1 January 1989. Their prison terms have thus been reduced to 20 years: A 20-year reduction in favor of persons originally condemned to death whose terms have not yet been commuted; a five-year reduction in favor of persons who have been condemned to death and whose terms have once been commuted to prison terms as from 1 January 1989; a five-year reduction in favor of persons originally condemned to life imprisonment already commuted to a prison term since 1 January 1989; a three-year reduction in favor of persons sentenced to a prison term superior to 20 years but at least equal to 10 years; a two-year reduction in favor of persons sentenced to a prison term inferior to 10 years but more than five years; a 15-month reduction for persons sentenced to a prison term equal or inferior to five years but more than three years; an eight- month reduction for persons sentenced to a term equal or inferior to three years but more than 15 months; a six-month reduction for persons condemned to a prison term equal and inferior to 15 months but more than six months; and finally, total freedom for those whose prison terms were equal to or inferior to six months.

Article 2 of the decree says that in applying these reductions previewed in Article 1 above, this sentence, minor in the sense of the penal law, shall also benefit a third of the reductions in force.

Article 3 states that the commutations in alineas or subsections 1 and 2 of Article 1 take effect as of the date of signature of the present decree.

Article 4 says that the dispositions of Article 1 of the present decree are not applicable to prison escapees on the date of signature of this decree, to persons sentenced by a military tribunal, persons condemned to prison terms not yet commuted for the following charges: Assassination or attempted murder, theft or violence having resulted to the death or injury as previewed in Articles 277 and 279 of the Penal Code. The decree is also applicable to persons with the following charges: Embezzlement of public funds, corruption, bounced checks, counterfeiting, customs and fiscal fraud, fraudulent exportation of cash or any attempt, irregular detention or traffic of toxic waste, arms, and finally, persons in detention who are charged for acts committed during their detention.

The minister of justice and keeper of the seals is charged with the execution of this decree which shall be published in English and French in the official gazette. [end recording]

#### Central African Republic

#### Premier Says Kolingba Aides Sabotaging Government

AB2912105192 Paris AFP in English 0105 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Bangui, Dec 29 (AFP)—The new prime minister of the Central African Republic (CAR) Thimothee Melendoma on Monday [28 December] publicly accused close aides of President Andre Kolingba of trying to "sabotage" his government with a view to preventing elections taking place next February.

Melendoma, who actively opposed the autocratic Kolingba regime in latter years, said the president was acting without consulting the government while members of his staff "slipped banana skins" under the prime minister's feet.

At the same time, Kolingba aides were "scheming to persuade people that the elections can not be held on the scheduled dates", he said in a televised speech.

On Monday, Kolingba called multi-party presidential and legislative elections next February 14 and 28. The elections were to have been held in October, but the first round on October 25 had to be cancelled because of widespread fraud.

The prime minister, whose government took over on December 8, accused four Kolingba aides by name of working against him, including the president's chief of staff Martin Yando and spokesman Gaston Mandata Nguereketa.

"There is a team inside the presidency charged with a sabotage mission to undermine the job of the government," Melendoma said. He said Kolingba had signed several official documents without seeking government approval beforehand. Therefore, Melendoma said, from December 28 onwards, "any decree not signed by the head of government will be unenforceable and invalid."

He was particularly critical of a presidential decree issued on December 11 setting up the CNERD or National Centre for Study, Research and Documentation - a state security apparatus answerable only to the presidency. Melendoma said he had "forbidden" his finance and security ministries from having anything to do with it.

Melendoma, who heads the Civic Forum opposition party legalised in October 1991, used to belong to the Concerted Democratic Forces (CFD) opposition umbrella group but was expelled after taking part in the "Great National Debate" organised by Kolingba in August in defiance of a CFD boycott call.

#### Chad

#### French Aid Used To Pay Armed Forces

AB2712214092 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Here is a Finance Ministry communique which has reached our editorial desk:

Within the context of its budgetary assistance to the Republic of Chad, France has decided to give an exceptional assistance worth 750 million CFA francs to our country. An agreement to this effect was signed in Paris outside the negotiations held between President Deby and Finance Minister Safi Abdelkadr and French Cooperation Minister Marcel Debarge. The Chadian Government has decided to use this exceptional financial assistance to pay a month's total salary to all the workers of the Chadian Armed Forces. The payment of this amount, which has already begun in Ndjamena, will continue throughout the entire national territory next week.

#### Premier on National Conference, Libya

LD2812213592 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Interview with Chad Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman by Sosthene Gargoune; place and date not given; recorded—from the "Afrique Midi" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The Chad national conference is to start in Ndjamena on 15 January. How are the preparations for this meeting going?

[Yodoyman] Financially we don't need to worry too much, in the sense that, as you know, the French government has put a package of 250 million Chad

francs [CFA] at the disposition of Chad, and the Chadian government itself has made an effort, in spite of its difficulties, to release 250 million. We know there are other institutions like USAID who are ready to support us financially and with equipment.

As for the preparations for the meeting, I think that the tripartite joint commission has completed its work. It has now gone to the subcommissions who are getting down to work, and all the people [word indistinct] in these commissions are so confident about what is at stake that I think they will do everything they can to make sure that the conference can be held, can open, on the date agreed on.

[Gargoune] [indistinct question about security]

¡Yodoyman] You know, the national conference has what is probably a peculiar dimension. Chad has already had to organize international conferences in this country, and very often we ask for help from a number of countries and organizations, who are much better equipped, much better supported and who have much more experience. It could be France, but it could equally well be another country or another organization.

[Gargoune] Could former president Habre take part in the conference?

[Yodoyman] I think it is not up to the government today to say if Habre will take part in the conference. There is a commission which has been set up which is to determine the criteria for participation in the conference. But I think that objectively, the presence of Habre in current circumstances would provoke very serious problems in this country. I cannot see Habre taking part in this conference, since I think there are serious enough actions being held against him.

Of course court proceedings have not yet been instituted over all these matters, but even if it is only for the funds he took away with him, I think there is a trial underway, and I think that really ex-president Habre cannot take part in the national conference, if the meeting is to enjoy the calm it needs, and which the country needs to deal with this situation.

What has to be done is to institute proceedings, and if he is to come, it would perhaps be in order to answer to the law of his country.

[Gargoune] Chad and Libya recently signed an agreement; two states who have a dispute which has been submitted to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Is this really the right moment for this agreement? People are talking about a hidden merger.

[Yodoyman] I think people should not imagine that there is a hidden merger. These agreements exist, they are public, they should be read, to see whether there is a merger or not. I don't think you can talk about a merger in regard to these agreements. Chad and Libya are two neighboring countries attempting, in spite of the problems they had in the past, in spite of the fact that there is

a dispute that has been submitted to the International Court of Justice, to maintain perfectly normal relations, and the agreements that have been signed are like the agreements we are signing with a number of countries. The fact that there is this dispute before the International Court of Justice should not cloud the development of good relations between Chad and Libya. I think it really shows dishonesty to speak about an agreement for a hidden merger. I don't know in whose interest a merger would be. What could Chad expect from such a merger?

I think you have to read the agreements, and it appears very clearly there that there is not the shadow of a doubt that we have here a number of agreements covering quite precise areas, and we don't intend them to cut across the action of the International Court of Justice.

What is behind the idea that there are agreements on merging, is the idea that Chad is allegedly ready to withdraw its complaint to the court. But not long ago we released funds to pay the lawyers and all those looking after this case for Chad. So we can't simultaneously pay and at the same time say that we are going to withdraw this case. No, we intend the matter to go through to its conclusion at the court.

#### Minister Confirms National Conference Date

AB2912115592 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 2130 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The Sovereign National Conference will definitely take place on 15 January 1993. Mr. Koibla Djimasta, minister of interior and security, and chairman of the tripartite commission in charge of the organization of the conference confirmed on 28 December that this date will be maintained.

In an interview with Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne radio, the minister said that everything is set for this major event for Chadians. Its organization and preparations are also going well. According to Mr. Koibla Djimasta, since the setting up of the tripartite commission, its members have been tackling the issue of participants' quota. The commission comprises representatives of government and political parties, as well as private individuals. These three groups will select the different categories of participants. The tripartite commission is, therefore, drawing up a list of all the various social groups and classes for this major Chadian event.

The deputy chairman of the commission, Mr. Abderah mane Izou cleared a sticky point regarding participation in the national sovereign conference: In each prefecture, an invitation will be sent to the prefect. There will be two district heads for every subprefecture, one stock breeder and one farmer for every prefecture. In all, 600 people will take part in the sovereign national conference.

#### Congo

#### Gabon's Bongo Arrives To Mediate in Crisis

AB2412132092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Excerpts] President Bongo of Gabon arrived in Brazzaville on 22 December on a working visit, in the company of Gabonese Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba. On arrival at Maya Maya International Airport. President Bongo said the visit was to promote economic cooperation between Congo and Gabon. Apart from economic cooperation, the Gabonese president offered his good offices at the People's Palace to resolve the current political crisis in our country. To this end, apart from the discussions he had with Professor Pascal Lissouba, he received the High Command of the Congolese Armed Forces [FAC], the Congolese opposition, and the presidential group. Yoki Lissono followed these discussions at the People's Palace and reports:

[Lissono] The political crisis that our country has been going through within the last few weeks occupied part of the time, if not the greater part of the Gabonese president, El Hadj Omar Bongo's stay in Brazzaville. His Congolese counterpart, Prof. Pascal Lissouba, accompanied him to the People's Palace and briefed him on the situation. After that meeting, Omar Bongo received the High Command of the Congolese Armed Forces, led by General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko, chief of general staff of the FAC. At the end of these talks Gen. Mokoko told reporters, and I quote: It was about the current political process here and I believe President Bongo came to offer his good offices to his Congolese brothers. On the second question as to whether it was the second mediation after that of the FAC. Gen. Mokoko simply replied: No comments.

The second group of people to arrive at the People's Palace was the Union of Democratic Renewal-Congolese Labor Party [URD-PCT] coalition, led by Bernard Kolelas. The delegation comprised Martin Mbemba, Edouard Noumazalaye, Pierre Nze, and Thystere-Tchicaya. They held discussions with the Gabonese head of state for over one and a half hours. After the meeting, the URD leader, Bernard Kolelas said the talks were not on mediation on the formation of the Dacosta Government because the ball was now in the Congolese prime minister's court. [passage omitted]

The third group to arrive at the People's Palace was the presidential group led by its chairman. Joachim Yhombi-Opango, who arrived to discuss and listen to Gabonese President Omar Bongo. All the leaders of the presidential group were present, except Jean-Michel Bokamba Yangouma who was attending the extraordinary session of the Confederal Executive Commission. The discussions lasted more than one and a half hours. [passage omitted]

#### Prime Minister on Goals of Government, Deadlines

AB2512212692 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After the presentation of this government, the prime minister discussed the primary purposes of his Cabinet. Jean-Claude Antoine Dacosta is interviewed here by Adrien Wayi:

[Begin recording] [Dacosta] This government has a principal mission that was defined by the 3 December agreement. It is to prepare and conduct the 1993 legislative elections. This is the prime mission and everything else is normal work. During the transition, this government's duty will be to ensure the operations of the state and institutions.

[Wayi] Let us talk about running the state. Can we expect any high-level state appointments during this transition?

[Dacosta] Yes. I agree with you that this question is important. It was raised before the head of state, who was explicit and very clear. We must guarantee that no appointments to any posts at any levels are made in the administration and in the state apparatus. I will give my own example. In my office and my departments, there have been no appointments, no changes, no transfers. I expect that government members will respect this (?recommendation).

[Wayi] We have noticed that there is something new in your government, the establishment of joint commissions. What is the significance of these commissions?

[Dacosta] Yes, we cannot hide that these negotiations were rough, difficult, and risky. We cannot hide that sensitive aspects remain; the head of state calls them apples of discord. The four most sensitive aspects are the following: information and communication, petroleum products, finance, and public works. Here is an example: take communication and information for instance. We will set up a commission chaired by the head of government. This commission's definite and essential is to define the normal activities of the department, which are under the authority of the minister and his services. These activities have nothing to do with the elections, but the services of the public apparatus will be very much needed for a limited period during the legislative elections. For these operations, personnel, air time, and means will be provided. The personnel will guarantee open elections for all the contesting parties. This commission will be responsible for supervising, organizing, and controlling these operations. The same thing applies to finances and public works.

[Wayi] Any idea how your government will last?

[Dacosta] The duration of this government has been set. We cannot hide it. A 45-day deadline has been set by the Constitution, but we should leave some time for counting votes and installing the National Assembly and its bureau. Once the National Assembly has set up its

bureau, the head of government will be ready to tender his resignation. His resignation should take place within three months, a reasonable deadline. [end recording]

#### Opposition Leader Against Retaining Former Staff

AB2912074592 Brazzaville Radio Nacionale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Not all Congolese politicians agree with the statement made by Prime Minister Claude Antoine Dacosta after the new Cabinet was announced, especially since all staff from the ministries have been retained. Here is opposition leader Bernard Kolelas:

[Begin Kolelas recording] Honestly, this is quite irritating after the formation of the new Cabinet. As a civil servant and politician, I have personally never heard of such a situation. A new government takes office and keeps the same staff from the outgoing ministers. That never occurs anywhere, it is not possible. I do not want to elaborate because we do not want to engage in another brawl. All the ministers should appoint new staff members because this is now a national union government, but it should be done tactfully. Of course, the new ministers will not dismiss all the staff members, but they should appoint new people because it is unacceptable to keep the old ones. Something I must stress here is that we have never discussed this during our negotiations, and this point is not in the agreement we signed. It was never said that the new ministers would keep the ministry staff. We have never mentioned this in the negotiations. At no time have the president and the prime minister ever talked about it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### **Equatorial Guinea**

#### Government Releases Jailed Opponents

AB2912073692 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] In Equatorial Guinea it seems that the government is back pedaling. According to a presidential decree, opponents arrested since 17 December have been granted amnesty.

It will be recalled that on 17 December, several people took to the streets to protest the reduction of cooperation with Spain in the areas of education and health. Spain had decided to review its cooperation with Equatorial Guinea, a country which, according to it, does not respect human rights.

#### Gabon

#### Police Chief Reassures Residents on Insecurity

AB2712150592 Dakar PANA in French 1544 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Libreville, 23 Dec (AGP-GAB/PANA)—On the eve of the Christmas and New Year celebrations, Major

General Ongaye Ossiali, police commander in chief, yesterday reassured Libreville residents of his men's protection amid ever growing insecurity in the capital. In a news conference, Maj. Gen. Ossiali stated that "immigration, rural exodus, the economic situation, and drug abuse are the causes of rising crime in Libreville."

He acknowledged that the lack of means for the police limited their action. He therefore urged the population to participate in the fight against crime by denouncing criminals. Mr. Ossiali also spoke of organizing special units within police stations and intensifying patrols. [passage omitted]

#### 'Important' USG Members Expelled From Party

AB2812132092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The Gabonese Socialist Union [USG], a member of the presidential majority, continues to expel some of its members. Five important personalities of this party have just been expelled, including the Honorable (Herve Ossamane Onouvie), who is the chairman of the parliamentary socialist group at the National Assembly. Our colleague L'UNION reports in its issue today that the five people are being reproached for their divisive and destabilizing tactics of sabotage.

The Gabonese daily recalls that the Honorable (Onouvie) recently circulated a petition asking for the holding of an extraordinary USG congress within a short time.

#### Sao Tome and Principe

#### Electoral Commission Publishes 6 Dec Election Results

AB2712214592 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The Sao Tome and Principe National Electoral Commission published yesterday the official results of the 6 December local elections. The results reveal the victory of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party. The former sole party won in five of the seven districts in the archipelago and tied with the ruling party in the Sixth District where it obtained five seats. In the Seventh District, victory went to the Independent Democratic Action, an independent association.

#### Zaire

#### Mobutu, Deputies, Traditional Chiefs Meet

AB2412172292 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Yesterday in Gbadolite, the head of state received a delegation of parliamentarians from all political factions. He also received a delegation of Zaire's traditional rulers. Here is a wrapup of all these audiences in a report by Kibamisi Puawamu Kebemba. First, here is the statement by the leader of the parliamentary delegation:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified designation leader] There is no report to be made. You yourself are aware of the current prevailing situation in our country. As the people's representatives, we wanted to hold talks with the president of the Republic on the general situation. This is the purpose of our visit here.

[Kebemba] Since you are talking about the general situation, did you discuss the formation of the next broad-based national union government?

[Leader] If you look at our delegation, you see it is not a political party delegation. We have members from the Popular Movement of the Revolution and members from other political parties. We came as a delegation from a constitutional institution consisting of men elected by the people. Well, there is the problem of the government, there is the problem of the High Council of the Republic [HCR], the question of bank notes, general problems, and the president is aware of everything. So, we submitted these problems to him to get his viewpoints on how to resolve them.

[Febemba] Mr. Speaker, concerning the HCR, what is your opinion, as a people's deputy?

[Leader] The HCR problem is not new. We are well aware of the fact that the conference was directed by the people. There was need for a legal instrument to convene the conference and the conference effectively took place. Later, there came this idea of establishing a High Council. Now the legal and judicial provisions that convened the conference have talked about a follow up committee. In our opinion, we have nothing to say for or against the existence of the High Council, but we know that as far as the Constitution and the rights of the deputies are concerned, it is our right to make laws. We are going to see what the conference or the High Council is going to do. Will the High Council create a follow up committee, as the president of the Republic has demanded? Or will it have the responsibility to make laws? [passage omitted]

[Kebemba] One last question: We know that the bank note of 5 million Zaires is not recognized by the people of Kinshasa, who are refusing to use it. On the other hand, some regions of the country are quietly using these 5-million Zaire bank notes. So what was the president of the Republic's view on this issue, and what is your own opinion?

[Leader] Weli, we know very well that in each country there is only one central bank, which is the case throughout the world. There are laws governing the issuance of currencies. Throughout the world, institutions already know that a particular currency or a particular coin is issued by the bank. It is now up to the country's citizens to respect their currency. It is not another country's currency, it is Zairian currency. It is up to Zairians themselves to honor the value of their currency. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## UPDS Opposed to Army Meeting With Politicians

AB2512200292 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The Army is organizing a consultation meeting today with politicians on forming a new government. The Union for Democracy and Social Progress [UDPS], the party of Prime Minister Tshisekedi, does not like the Army coming to the forefront. On the line from France, Crispin Kabasele, the party's representative, had this to say to Jean-Claude Franck Medome:

[Begin recording] [Kabasele] We are wary of this meeting because according to the information we have. General Mahele is going to organize a coup d'etat against the institutions set up by the national conference. In other words, it is a question of forming a new government which will be presided over by (Fazukamidatu Masamba). We consider this a violation of the political compromise reached between the representatives of Mr. Mobutu and the delegates of the national conference.

This also reminds us of the 1961 Lovanium conclave at which Colonel Mobutu succeeded in imposing (Cyrile Ladula) as prime minister of Congo Kinshasa against the will of our people. The UDPS has also declined the invitation to participate in this meeting.

[Medome] You are therefore moving toward a two-speed country, I mean a country with two government.

[Kabasele] We are not moving toward a country with two governments. What we are demanding is respect for the decisions made at the national conference. If Mr. Mobutu has a certain legitimacy, it is through the decision of the national conference, just like the Tshisekedi government. Based on this fact, we cannot accept a parallel government alongside the one empowered by the national conference. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### French Ambassador Presents Credentials

AB2612145692 Paris AFP in French 1320 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 26 Dec (AFP)—Philippe Bernard, the new French ambassador to Zaire, presented his letters of credence on 24 December to President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The ceremony was held in the Gbadolite, President's Mobutu hometown.

Ambassador Bernard replaces Henri Rethore.

### Armed Men Burn LE POTENTIEL Newspaper House

AB2612200892 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpt] In Zaire this morning, armed men burned down the office and premises of LE POTENTIEL newspaper, which is close to the opposition. A gendarme was sericusly injured in the incident, which happened just one month after the Terra Nova printing house was destroyed by fire. This printing house also published opposition publications. [passage omitted]

#### HCR Vice Chairman Elected

AB2912074092 Paris AFP in French 1144 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 28 Dec (AFP)—On 26 December, Mr. Joseph Ileo Songo Amba, chairman of the Social Christian Democratic Party (PDSC), was elected first vice

chairman of the High Council of the Republic (parliament during the transitional period), it was learned today in Kinshasa.

In the second round of voting, Mr. Ileo defeated his opponent, Mr. Charles Mwando Nsimba, by 20 votes. Mr. Nsimba is the leader of the dissident wing of the Union of Independent Federalists and Republicans (UFERI), the party of former Prime Minister Nguz A Karl-I-Bond.

The post of first chairman of the HCR is a great political stake because the holder will assume the administrative and executive functions of that body, as set up by the National Conference.

Monsignor Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, elected HCR chairman shortly before the official closing of the National Conference on 6 October, has agreed to only play the role of mediator at the head of that body which, along with the president of the Republic and the prime minister's office, are the three institutions charged with managing Zaire's transition period.

#### Ethiopia

#### President Holds Talks With Egyptian Official

EA2412192892 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Secretary general of the Frovisional Government of Eritrea, Mr. Isayas Aferweki, held talks in his office this afternoon with an Egyptian delegation led by Mr. Ibrahim 'Awf, assistant minister for Arab affairs in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. During their talks, the two sides discussed ways of strengthening relations between Eritrea and Egypt, and the situation in the Horn of Africa in general, and Somalia in particular.

The two sides affirmed that they will play their part to bring about peace and stability in Somalia. [passage omitted]

#### Prime Minister Arrives in Yemen 26 Dec

EA2612194192 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1000 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The delegation of the Ethiopian Transitional Government led by Prime Minister Tamirat Layne, arrived in the Yeneen Republic after concluding its visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The delegation was met by Mr. Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, prime minister of the Yemen Republic and other high-ranking officials of the country on arrival at San'a airport.

Prime Minister Tamirat Layne in a press statement on arrival at the airport, noted that his visit would enable a new chapter of cooperation to be opened, based on the mutual interests of both countries. The prime minister hoped that during their talks, they would reach an agreement which would benefit the two peoples. He said they would discuss the role of the two countries in bringing peace and stability to the area.

#### **Economic Cooperation Discussed**

EA2412210392 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Tamirat Layne and President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran have exchanged views on ways of strengthening the economic cooperation between the two countries. Their talks yesterday focused on ways of consolidating the long-standing relations between the two countries for the mutual benefit of their people. They also exchanged views on steps to be taken by both governments to enhance cooperation in the fields of trade, science, technology, and mining.

Earlier in the day Prime Minister Tamirat Layne laid a flower wreath on the tomb of the former spiritual leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khomene'i. Ato [Mr.] Tamirat, who was leading a high-level government delegation, arrived in Tehran on Monday [21 December] to pay an official visit to Iran at the invitation of the government of Iran.

#### Prime Minister Begins Talks in Tehran

EA2412204292 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0930 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpts] A high-level Ethiopian delegation led by Prime Minister Tamirat Layne has started talks with Iranian officials in Tehran.

The talks, which centered on trade and economics were held, between Prime Minister Tamirat Layne and Iran's vice president Dr. Hasan Habibi. ENA [ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY] reporter Asefa Seyoum has sent us the details by telephone from Tehran.

[Begin Seyoum recording] The two governments' highranking officials, after pointing out the close economic, trade, and cultural relations which they used to have in the 17th [as received] century, noted that there were still various development sectors in which they could cooperate. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Tamirat Layne underlined the transitional government's efforts to build a good relationship with neighboring and other countries. Dr. Habibi said that Ethiopia's respect for the right of Muslins showed that it was one of the victories achieved by the people of Ethiopia.

The talks between the two sides are to continue. Prime Minister Tamirat Layne is expected to hold talks with President Hashemi-Rafsanjani on economic and social issues. [end recording]

#### Kenya

#### Reportage on 'First' Multiparty Elections

#### Polls Open

AB2912095492 Paris AFP in English 0854 GMT 29 Dec 92

#### [By David Chazan]

[Excerpts] Nairobi, Dec 29 (AFP)—Thousands of Kenyans queued outside polling stations in the capital Nairobi early Tuesday to cast their ballots in the first multi-party election for 26 years. The initial turnout seemed high after a violent and bitter campaign during which opposition leaders accused the government of President Daniel arap Moi of preparing to rig the election.

But the start of ballotting was delayed by up to twoand-a-half hours as election officials registered agents of the 10 political parties who are to monitor polling and sealed ballot boxes supplied by Kenya's former colonial ruler Britain.

Moi was one of the first to vote, casting his ballot at Tandui Primary School polling station in Baringo Central constituency of the Rift Valley Province, the official Kenya News Agency (KNA) said. He was elected unopposed as Member of Parliament for Baringo Central during party nominations on December 9.

The authorities have appealed for calm amid fears of further political violence that has killed dozens of people in recent months. [passage omitted]

Some 7.9 million of Kenya's 24 million people have registered to vote. The first results are expected later Tuesday or early Wednesday [30 December].

#### Large Turnout Reported

EA2912121892 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1000 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Kenya's first multiparty elections were this morning marked with a large turnout which saw voters report at the stations as early as 0500. Voters complained of the delay in the process as some stations were reported to have only one stamp. Others say the ballot boxes were not clearly indicated as to which was for the president or parliamentary race. No violent incidents have so far been reported. [passage omitted]

#### Support Urged for FORD-Asili

EA2612203192 Nairobi KNA in English 1600 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Nairobi 26 Dec (KNA)—FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili presidential candidate, Mr. Kenneth Matiba, today made a passionate appeal to the party supporters to vote for FORD-Asili parliamentary candidates in order to enable him to form the next government.

Addressing an estimated crowd of 40,000 people at Uhuru park, Mr Matiba told the cheering crowd that he needed at least 96 parliamentary seats to form the next government.

Expressing confidence that wananchi [citizens] will vote for him to be their next president, Mr Matiba told the attentive crowd he risked facing a hostile parliament if the party's parliamentary candidates were not elected.

"It will be useless for you to vote me as your next president if you do not vote for FORD-Asili candidates", he cautioned, adding that a KANU [Kenya African National Union]-majority parliament would endanger his position. [passage omitted]

Mr Shikuku [FORD-Asili secretary general], who prior to Matiba's speech worked up the crowd, dismissed the allegation that the party has been given a cheque by President Moi of kshs [Kenyan shillings] 65 million to destabilise the opposition, as "total nonsense and sheer stupidity".

Tearing the alleged photocopy of the cheque before the enthusiastic crowd, Mr Shikuku read the faulty details of the cheque and attributed its source as from Democratic Party.

"The cheque is from a Kenya commercial bank branch named as Moi Road and there is no such a road as you all know", he said.

He said that the cheque had no name of the source, while its account number read as 965879 which was not preceded by letters a, b or c as is normal with all cheques. [passage omitted]

#### **DP** Candidate Denies Merger

EA2712213692 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 27 Dec 92

[passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Kenya [DP] presidential nominee, Mwai Kibaki, today dismissed allegations that he was going to merge his party with FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya. Kibaki was speaking to the press after a Sunday service at the Holy Family basilica when he dismissed the allegations. He also said that the DP was not moved by some of its nominees defecting to other parties after being lured with money.

The DP today neared the end of its campaign efforts with only one day left before the elections. Presidential nominee Mwai Kibaki outlined the party's performance:

[Kibaki] "We have gone all over the country. One thing we know is that the people want a total change, and they want it now and they are determined to have it, and they will have it. And I am quite sure we will have a total change. That is universal."

On the question of a DP merger with FORD-Kenya that had been rumored in the city, Kibaki said:

[Kibaki] "We do not have a merger. We have no merger. We are all separate parties. We are all campaigning, each on our own, and the public will make their own decision, you know, and that is how it will go."

Regarding the defections of DP nominees in various parts, Kibaki pointed out:

[Kibaki] "But it doesn't affect us. If you have one or two people who have succumbed to the power of this money, that is part of the game. Some are very weak. They will yield to the temptations, and of course that is human nature."

The DP chairman spent the rest of the day on a meet the people tour of Nairobi and parts of Ngong. He told throngs of supporters that the party would embark on restructuring the economy and denounced the stone throwing culture.

#### FORD Protests Attack on Official's Daughter

AB2912100592 Paris AFP in English 0924 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Nairobi, Dec 29 (AFP)—Kenya's opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) Kenya has issued a strong protest to the government after a daughter of its leading official was reportedly stabbed and seriously injured in Kenya's Rift Valley Province early Tuesday [29 December].

In a statement issued here, FORD-Kenya said that the daughter of its second vice chairman Michael Wamalwa Kijana was stabbed with a knife on Tuesday and sustained serious injuries. She was admitted at Eldoret Hospital in critical condition.

It blamed the attack on the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) party youths, but appealed to Kenyans in general "to calmly and firmly resist this provocation and intimidation by this brutal state machinery being issued by KANU to rig the December 29 general elections."

The stabbing is the first report of violence since Kenya's first multi-party poll in 26 years kicked off early Tuesday, although widespread violence marred campaigns up to the eve of the elections.

#### **FORD Says Authorities Arrest 500**

AB2812213092 Paris AFP in English 1841 GMT 28 Dec 92

[by Luke Odhiambo]

[Excerpt] Nairobi, Dec 28 (AFP)—Violence Monday [28 December] marred the end of the campaign for Kenya's first multi- party election in 26 years as the opposition accused authorities of arresting more than 500 of its supporters and election officials in Mombasa threatened to disrupt polling unless they were paid their wages.

Police arrested 500 opposition supporters and beat many of them up when they broke up a demonstration in the central town of Nakuru, the opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD)-Kenya said in a memorandum presented to international election observers Monday in Nairobi, on the eve of the parliamentary and presidential elections.

Nakuru residents contacted by telephone confirmed that riot police had broken up a demonstration by FORD-Kenya supporters Sunday, injuring up to 100 people. But they were unable to confirm the party's claim that some 500 people had been arrested and would not be allowed out to vote.

Nakuru police said senior officers were unavailable to comment.

Raila Odinga, son of FORD-Kenya leader Oginga Odinga, said 500 party supporters had been arrested as they staged a peaceful demonstration. He called for their immediate release.

The election observers, from the United States, the Commonwealth, the European Community, Finland and Sweden made no statement after receiving FORD-Kenya's memorandum.

Odinga said the party's parliamentary candidate in Nakuru, John Kamangara, had reported that several supporters had been "severely beaten up, many were injured and a number were admitted to various hospitals." [passage omitted]

#### FORD, DP Candidates Kidnapped

EA2812212592 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] A parliamentary candidate and his agents were kidnapped today and another was being held hostage in moves allegedly aimed at preventing them from participating in the elections tomorrow.

A statement from FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]- Asili headquarters in Nairobi this evening said its Lugari [constituency] parliamentary candidate, Apili Sifuna (Waomba) Wawire, together with his agents were abducted today by what the party claimed were persons believed to be members of the Youth for KANU [Kenya African National Union] '92 [pressure group]. Their whereabouts were still unknown.

And in Kitui, [Charity] Kaluki Mwendwa, a DP [Democratic Party] candidate for Kitui central, was reported to have been taken hostage by supporters of her opponents after her supporters were beaten up and her car set ablaze. A statement from their headquarters in Nairobi asked the government to intervene and have Mwendwa freed so that she could participate in the elections tomorrow.

KTN was unable to establish the truthfulness of the reports by the time of this newscast.

#### U.S. Ambassador 'Behind' Multipartyism

EA2712154092 Nairobi KNA in English 1314 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Garissa, 27 Dec (KNA)—A minister of state in the Office of the President, Mr. Hussein Maalim Mohammed, today urged Kenyans to reject opposition party candidates on 29 December because they would plunge the country into chaos if they swept to power. The minister pointed out that defections by opposition party nominees clearly indicate KANU's [Kenya African National Union] strength countrywide and opposition candidates' fear of losing at the polls.

At the same time Mr. Mohammed lashed out at the American ambassador in Nairobi, Mr. Smith Hempstone, for his continued support for opposition parties. He said the Ambassador was behind the establishment of multipartyism in Kenya.

He was addressing KANU supporters at Garissa Primary School grounds. [passage omitted]

#### **Electoral Commission Head on Rules**

EA2812205092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1000 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The Electoral Commission today clarified that all returning officers may be sworn before a magistrate, a commissioner of oaths, notary public, kadhi, or a justice of peace. The commission chairman, Justice Zaccheus Chesoni, also pointed out that every candidate is entitled to no more than two counting agents. Returning officers may, however, accept a list of more than two but shall admit only two at a time into the counting hall. Chesoni warned that no returning officer should reject any list of counting agents on the grounds of a list containing more than two names. Returning officers are also instructed to issue accredited observers with official badges rather than referring observers to presiding officers.

Separately, FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya has written to Chesoni, claiming thousands of KANU [Kenya African National Union] supporters were being transported to Nakuru from Baringo [both in Rift Valley Province] to vote for weak KANU candidates. The letter, signed by the operations manager, (Nkule Lainyuta), lists a number of glaring incidents that indicate signs of rigging by KANU. The party, in its letter, says that it will not accept results from areas where there was rigging.

#### Court Order Restricts Nominees Appearance

EA2812204092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] As the rest of the country goes to the polls tomorrow, court orders restraining the Electoral Commission from gazetting KANU [Kenya African National Union] nominees in respect of six constituencies are still in force. The suits, filed by five parliamentary aspirants from the opposition and which are awaiting determination, are due to be mentioned on 19 January next year. A lawyer appearing for the Electoral Commission, Salim Dhanji, today told the high court that the electoral body had honored the restraining orders by not publishing notices in respect of the disputed seats. The constituencies affected and which are expected to hold elections later are Samia, Kerio North, Kerio West, Kerio Central, Baringo East, and Baringo North.

In a separate development, a special issue of the Kenya Gazette issued on 24 December shows that President Moi has been gazetted as the MP [Member of Parliament] for the Baringo central parliamentary seat, among other 12 candidates already declared [elected unopposed] as MPs.

#### Attorney General on Election Security Measures

EA2812203592 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The attorney general, Amos Wako, said today the government had taken measures to ensure a peaceful election and one that is fine and fair and seen to be so. Addressing the press, Wako observed it was the most important election since independence. He added that on election day and for as long as necessary, there would be extra security to ensure protection of life and property.

[Begin Wako video recording] On the election day and immediately thereafter, the commissioner of police has taken extra precautions to ensure protection of property and life. All polling stations will be covered. There will be 24-hour patrols in all urban areas and in particular residential and shopping centers. There will also be air patrols throughout the country to watch out for any situation that may require police assistance. [end recording]

#### Council Says Electoral Process 'Compromised'

EA2812202792 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The Council of Elders in the National Election Monitoring Unit, NEMU, said in Nairobi today that the electoral process had been severely compromised by the inability of the government to provide a secure electoral atmosphere. The Council made the claim during a press conference at the press center. The press statement was read to the press by the Council's chairman, Duncan Ndegwa. They noted that, despite persistent requests, the government had failed to level the playing field. The Council pointed out that opposition parties did not penetræte some parts of the Rift Valley [Province] and large parts of North-Eastern Province. They doubted whether those areas will enjoy free and fair elections.

[Begin Ndegwa recording] The Council would wish to see the process of electing leaders completed in an honorable manner and requests that any complaints be resolved in a peaceful way. The Council is confident that with everyone's goodwill each and every grievance can be redressed using the channels provided by the law. The Council appeals that those with any complaints should refer them to the appropriate authorities for redress. The Council reiterates its earlier call to all political parties and their candidates to rededicate themselves to the holding of an election free of violence, intimidation, and other forms of coercion. [emb recording]

#### Somalia

#### Relief Vehicle Hijacked, Three Occupants Shot

AB2912095992 Paris AFP in English 0918 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Mogadishu, Dec 29 (AFP)—Less than an hour after a landmark peace rally here Monday [28 December], an international relief vehicle was hijacked and three of its five occupants were shot, one apparently fatally, a spokeswoman said Tuesday.

CARE representative Cynthia Osterman said the car, with a driver, armed guard and three passengers—all Somalis—stopped at the Green Line near a point where the rally had just taken place, intending to drop off three passengers. "Before they knew what was happening, at least five gunmen surrounded the car and thrust guns into the windows," she said. "There were four rifles and a pistol."

"Shots were fired," she said. "A woman passenger was thrown from the car, the driver was shot in the leg, and a passenger was wounded in the face." She said the car's armed security guard was the most severely wounded, taking a round in the abdomen. "He was the only one who couldn't get out of the car," said Osterman. "He appeared to be mortally wounded. The hijackers took off with the car with the guard still in it. I'm sure he's dead. I doubt if they would have taken him to a hospital." She said the guard's body was not recovered.

The incident, the second armed hijacking of a CARE vehicle this month and the second time this particular car was shot at, pointed to an increase in tensions in Mogadishu, and particularly in north Mogadishu, she said. "Our impression is that the gunmen are getting used to seeing troops in the streets," she said. "They seem to be getting bolder."

Monday's hijacking took place on the Green Line at the Bank Crossing, not far from the site of a huge peace rally.

At the rally, feuding warlords Mohamed Ali Mahdi and Mohamed Farah Aidid, once arch enemies, publicly embraced and pledged themselves to peace and elimination of the Green Line that has divided the capital.

#### Ali Mahdi Addresses Crowd, Calls for Peace

EA2812212092 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] A massive peaceful demonstration led by Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed, the president of the Republic of Somalia, and General Mohamed Farah Hasan Aidid has taken place in the large (Waliyow Ade) square in Mogadishu. The rally, which was attended by thousands of people from Banaadir region [Mogadishu and its environs], was aimed at breaking down boundaries in Mogadishu.

The people, who displayed a nationalist spirit, carried placards which said: Long Live the Unity of the United Somali Congress and Somalia and others which said: Somali people are welcoming peace. The people walked through the streets of Mogadishu and finally joined up at (Waliyow Ade) square.

Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed said that today is a day of peace call for the Somali people, it is a day that will occupy an important place in the historic events of Somalis, it is a day to move from the civil war to a repossession of the dignity and respect of the people. The president, delivering an address to the people through the mass media, expressed sorrow for the problems inherited from the civil war including death, injuries, and displacement, the loss of public and private property, economic ruin, and disgrace for the Somali people in the international community.

The president said that the occasion marked the opening of roads and trade in the city and therefore it was necessary for everybody to return to their homes and revive coexistence and fraternity. He said reconstruction of the city will follow and will involve the public and private sectors. The president said that whatever is beyond our ability will be done through cooperation with the international community.

The president said that the foreign troops now in the country had come as a result of the repeated appeals of the interim government to the international community. He said he hoped that while they are in Somalia for Operation Restore Hope, they will disarm the people as this would create hope for the future.

President Mahdi thanked Mr. Butrus Ghali, President-elect Bill Clinton and all the governments who are concerned about doing something about the problem of Somalia. He wished the Somali people peace, unity, and victory.

#### **Government Confirms Policy of Hot Pursuit**

MB2812153192 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1450 GMT 28 Dec 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by SA Communication Service: "Statement by the Government Spokesman, Mr D.W. Steward, on Recent Allegations Concerning APLA and the Transkei Military Government"]

[Text] The government is deeply concerned over recent media allegations—particularly those in RAPPORT and NEWSWEEK—relating to possible assistance which the military government of Transkei may have given to APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army].

The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. R.F. Botha, has already made it clear in a statement issued last week that if the report in NEWSWEEK that General Holomisa had signed an accord with APLA is correct, it could have, "the most serious implications and grave consequences".

The government would like to state its position in this regard:

It is nationally and internationally unacceptable for a state to make its territory available for attacks against citizens of other states or to provide material or moral assistance to terrorists;

The South African security forces will continue their relentless efforts to track down, apprehend and punish those responsible for terrorist atrocities, wherever they may be found;

In this regard the South African security forces will if necessary apply the doctrine of hot pursuit and will consequently follow the perpetrators of any terrorist acts across international borders:

Should intelligence confirm the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, the government will take whatever diplomatic and other action may be necessary for the elimination of such bases;

The government is urgently and systematically investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to APLA—including those which appeared in NEWSWEEK and RAPPORT.

The government expects that the government of Transkei should meticulously comply with all bi-lateral agreements with South Africa. It also expects that the Transkei government should use the correct channels of communication with the South African Government and that General Holomisa should act in accordance with international norms.

Issued by the government spokesman Pretoria 28 December 1992

#### PAC's Alexander Warns Against Transkei Attack

MB2812144792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1432 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 28 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Monday [28 December] categorically and emphatically denied reports that its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), had been militarily active in the Transkei. In a statement sent to SAPA, PAC Secretary General Benny Alexander warned of action if the nominally-independent homeland was attacked.

"Any attack on the Transkei will be an attack on unarmed civilians ... Should such an attack occur we will not fold our arms. We are not afraid of attack. We are ready and waiting."

Mr. Alexander's statement followed reports that a crossborder strike into the homeland by the South African Defence Force was imminent.

Tensions have been high in the eastern Cape and Border region since attacks on white South Africans for which APLA claimed responsibility.

#### CP Spokesman on Transkei's 'Act of Aggression'

MB2912093692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0858 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 29 SAPA—Transkei's supplying of arms to the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] and to Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] must be seen as an act of aggression by a neighbouring state, Conservative Party [CP] defence spokesman Willie Snyman said on Monday.

Dr Snyman said in a statement the CP urgently requested the government to carry out its threat of hot pursuit operations across the Transkei border and that APLA bases be identified and destroyed.

If the government did not carry out its threats to launch hot pursuit raids, it would be neglecting its duty to the citizens of South Africa. Dr Snyman added.

The CP statement came after Transkei ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa confirmed he had given weapons to APLA and to the African National Congress' armed wing, MK.

The Border region in the eastern Cape was thrown into turmoil in late November and early December following attacks on white civilians, allegedly by APLA.

#### **APLA Refuses Comment on Farm Attack**

MB2912071892 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] is refusing to confirm or deny responsibility for a farmhouse attack which killed a 15-year-old girl in the [Orange] Free State earlier this month. Senior APLA Commander Sabelo Phama says he is still waiting for a report from APLA field commanders on 20 December gun and grenade attacks on a Ficksburg farmhouse.

Phama says the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] military wing is not waging a war on whites, but is targeting the security forces. In his words, APLA is not engaged in a racial war, it is engaged in a liberation struggle. Phama contends that because the Free State has always been what he calls, the reactionary province, farmers there can be classified as part of the security forces. In his words, these farmers are the ones who support repression.

#### Holomisa Addresses Labor Party Conference

MB2812115092 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1028 GMT 28 Dec 92

#### [By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Port Elizabeth Dec 28 SAPA—Transkei military Leader Maj Gen Bantu Holomisa has called on the South African Government to "formalise" all existing armed bases inside South Africa while constitutional talks are continuing.

Addressing the Labour Party's 27th annual conference, he said this would allow conventional training, proper control and accountability of all armed forces to be introduced.

A code of conduct for all armed forces could then also be instituted, he said.

Gen Holomisa also called for the strengthening of the current United Nations resolution, which he said "lacked teeth".

He called on President F. W. de Klerk and his government to present their evidence of APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] activities on Transkei soil to a forthcoming commission of enquiry appointed by his government.

He also called on President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and disclose the source of weapons circulating in the country.

In his speech, Gen Holomisa sharply attacked Mr Kriel and accused him of "always sowing discord, suspicion, distrust and hatred".

Mr Kriel's threat to launch raids into Transkei and close the common border appeared to be "a ploy to destabilise the entire area with the view to driving white Nat (National Party) supporters into the fold of the ultraconservative right wing," he said.

He said government ministers like Mr Kriel were out of touch with the spirit of change in South Africa and still relished "its outmoded rhetorical baggage". Gen Holomisa said Mr Kriel's "irresponsible statement" about Transkei had affected the free movement of people through the territory and had a negative effect on tourism in South Africa.

He again challenged South Africa to present any information which it has on the existence on APLA bases inside Transkei to the Transkeian commission of inquiry which would begin sittings early in the New Year.

"Transkei has absolutely nothing to hide in the fabricated debacle over the existence of APLA bases. But let it be clear to everyone that we will not allow Transkei to become the whipping boy of any South African minister," he said.

#### ANC, IFP Caution Against 'Over-Optimism'

MB2912075492 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Spokesmen for both the ANC [African National Congress] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] have cautioned against over-optimism regarding today's talks in Durban between the two organizations. The meeting is the second intended to pave the way for summit talks between ANC Leader Nelson Mandela and IFP Leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr. Frank Mdlalose of the IFP has said today's meeting is likely to see a continuation of attempts to clear remaining obstacles to a summit, while Mr. Jacob Zuma of the ANC has said it is doubtful whether a date for the summit will be decided at the meeting.

#### HSRC on 'Politics of Ambiguity,' Dangers

MB2812165392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1547 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Pretoria Dec 28 SAPA—Political leaders should start exercising firm leadership or face another Angola, according to Human Sciences Research Council's [HSRC] general manager of social dynamics, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer. He said in the latest issue of the HSRC journal, prospects, that National Party and African National Congress leaders were engaging in "dualism" in their public statements, which to an extent was necessary to bridge current pragmatism and older party commitments, and in a sense was "holding the (political) centre together".

"This dualism has it costs, however," Prof Schlemmer said. "As the Inkatha Freedom Party appears to be saying, it means that it is difficult if not impossible to accept commitments at face value and to know what the African National Congress' [ANC] and National Party's [NP] bottom lines are."

This could eventually see the interim government blowing up in the faces of the joint executive in the pact. "The politics of ambiguity allow leaders to postpone the need to exercise firm leadership; to evade the difficult tasks of establishing and then actively promoting the optimal position for the party; and to enforcing disciplne on that basis."

He added: "What will happen if the ANC in the interim government cannot stop a section of the party from launching a new mass action campaign? What will happen if the NP faced a civil service rebellion? What will happen if a section of one of the parties refuses to accept the outcome of the first elections. In terms of political culture we are not far away from Angola."

Given these hazards, the time was long overdue for party leaders to start exercising firm leadership on the basis of achievable strategies. The public service was one of the victims of political ambiguity. An HSRC study had shown that less than four of 10 civil servants trusted the government to honour its undertakings to them.

If right-wing opposition parties had viable broader policies, the National Party's support base in the public sector might already have crumbled, thereby also making orderly transition impossible, Prof Schlemmer said.

#### Natal-KwaZulu Fighting Leaves 36 Dead

MB2812130592 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Fighting in Natal and kwaZulu over the Christmas period has left at least 36 people dead. Thirteen were killed in three faction fights, five died in a clash near Bulwer and six in a struggle near Weza in the Harding District. On the south coast two people were killed in faction fighting near Adam's Mission near Amanzimtoti. A seven-year-old child was shot dead near Southport.

KwaZulu Police report that 22 people are known to have been killed in the territory. They say the figure could rise as reports come in from outlying areas.

#### De Klerk Christmas-New Year Message

MB2412185992 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1610 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Christmas (1992) and New Year (1993) Message by State President F.W. de Klerk—recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

At present, all South Africans—to a greater or lesser extent—experience difficult times. Why? There are various reasons.

Too many people are suffering as a result of pressing conditions: employers and employees alike are struggling; many people are unemployed; the drought has hit us hard and continues to devastate some parts of the country; corruption, immorality and indiscipline are increasing.

Too many people live in fear. They are deeply concerned about crime, violence and threats of violence; they are

concerned about intimidation, strikes, boycotts and disruptive mass actions; they are concerned about confusing and sometimes arrogant demands and counterdemands by some negotiating parties. Too many people have been killed and injured in violence. I deeply sympathize with those who have suffered as a result of this.

All this leads to great social and political uncertainty, uncertainty which is further exacerbated by the slow pace of constitutional negotiations. Yes, there is reason to complain and there are grounds for concern. And I have great sympathy with that.

There is, however, also much to be thankful for: Our land and our people have so much potential. South Africa is endowed with great natural beauty and beautiful and bountiful resources. Our people represent a kaleidoscope of cultures and talents. There is a great store of goodwill between us.

We are not the only country which is experiencing sever economic problems. However, we have the will and the capacity to overcome our own problems. Compared with the rest of the continent, our continent of Africa, we are a beacon of hope. Let us build on that hope and strengthen that beacon.

With courage and hard work, we in South Africa can build a much better country for us and for all of our children.

What we have to do is to develop our country's potential to its fullest. The shortest road to misery is to get bogged down in complaints and to become despondent, to break under the strain. Just to protest all the time and to continue to look for scapegoats, won't help either.

My message to you tonight is short and simple:

There is nothing wrong in South Africa which, with divine grace, cannot be rectified. That is the challenge of 1993, and that is the Christmas message of reconciliation. I appeal to you all of you to join me in accepting this challenge.

First and foremost, it is necessary for us to turn to the Almighty God. Without His blessing, all our frail human efforts will fail dismally.

For that reason the government is approaching the churches of South Africa with the serious request to jointly call for a day of contrition and prayer - a day on which all believers can thank the Lord for so many blessings, among which is the widespread rains; a day on which all believers, in all humility, can confess their sins and can commit their vexatious problems to God's throne of grace; a day on which our deep commitment to peace can ascend to heaven. The situation in our country is serious enough to justify such a request and I shall take it up further with the churches.

It is also necessary for South Africans to mend their relations with each other and with one another. There is far too much aggression, bitterness and intolerance in our society. The reconciliation which Christ brought about for us, demands from us that we should also live in reconciliation with our fellow men and women.

This is exactly what the reform process with which we are busy is all about. To create, on the basis of justice, room, space and opportunities for everyone in South Africa. To live together in peace. The purpose of reform is to ensure security for all law abiding, peace-loving and hardworking South African. Anarchism and radicalism must be effectively countered.

Negotiation should result in a new constitutional dispensation, in which everybody can participate, and in which individuals, communities and language groups need not fear domination, suppression, or the abuse of power. Only through achieving that will we be able to create a security, labor and economic climate which will generate long-term trust because it will ensure stability. If we succeed in achieving that, and we shall succeed, investments will increase, and our full potential will be unlocked. Thus we will obtain the means to alleviate the hardship and the backlogs of millions of South Africans and of specific communities.

Reform, the steps which we are taking, and the negotiations in which we are all involved are all aimed at these objectives. It should make South Africa not only a just country, but also a safe and a prosperous one. Until all that can be secured the government will continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal. There is no question of capitulating to radicalism. All South Africans will, however, also have to reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process. The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative.

The lives of all of us and all existing systems have already been and will even be more effective. The process of renewal is unstoppable. The government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough. Greater clarity on the how and the what will emerge early in 1993. Of one thing I am sure, we now have the possibility within our grasp of emerging from years of bitterness and division. The talks between major parties herald the possibility for a resumption of multiparty negotiations and the promise for rapid movement towards a government of national unity.

You can confidently expect the government to take the lead in this regard, also to correct errors and to ensure good government. For that the foundation has largely been laid regardless of the setbacks of 1992.

Each South African also has to make his and her contribution to make 1993 a year of great progress. For that there are many opportunities on a person-to-person level, in the workplace and by enthusiastically participating in the activities of your church, your party, a charity organization, or other community organization.

The dangers of radicalism and the existing threats to the value system of all believing moderate and peace loving South Africans demand of us all to act constructively.

A complaining, protesting, despondent, and dissatisfied nation is a nation heading for disaster and will play into the hands of the radicals. An active, hardworking, Godfearing, cheerful, and solution-orientated nation overcomes its difficulties and is a prospering nation. We should be such a nation in 1993; an inspired and purposeful nation; a hardworking nation which stays on its knees before God who holds the destiny of all of us His hand. With divine grace we, each and everyone of us, have the ability to put right anything which may be wrong with South Africa. Let's work together to build a better South Africa. I wish each and every one of you a blessed Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year. Good night.

#### Church Leaders Voice Support

MB2512062492 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Several church leaders have expressed support for State President F. W. de Klerk's call for churches to hold a day of contrition and prayer.

Prof. Pieter Potgieter of the NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] said he supported the call and regarded it in a serious light, as there were sins for which the nation had to confess. He pointed out that a day of contrition should not be turned into a pretentious occasion.

Bishop Stanley Mugoba of the Methodist Church said he was delighted with the state president's call. He urged politicians, labor leaders, businessmen, and community leaders to give their cooperation.

Roman Catholic Archbishop Wilfred Napier said he also supported the appeal, and added that the situation in South Africa would not change unless the people themselves changed.

Dr. Peter Bingle of the Reformed Church said the call was justified, at a time when many people were dying. He said he was confident that all churches would support the state president's call.

#### De Klerk Sends Holiday Message to Africa

MB2412141392 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 24 Dec 92

[From the "Channel Africa report" program; introduced by announcer Pumla Rulashe; recorded; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Rulashe] Now, Channel Africa Report brings you some Christmas messages from some special people. [passage omitted]

South African State President F. W. de Klerk also came into our studios to give his message to Channel Africa:

[Begin De Klerk recording] I greet all fellow Africans, from the southern tip of Africa. Our continent has behind it a difficult year. In 1992, large parts of the continent were devastated by drought. Violence continued in many parts of Africa. But there are also signs of hope. In many countries, also in South Africa, through negotiation and reform, we are moving rapidly towards a solution of our problems.

In South Africa itself, we look upon 1993 as a year of hope; as a year in which we will break through to long-term peace; as a year in which we will reach agreement, through negotiation, about a new constitution which will offer to all South Africans full political rights and participation.

We also look forward to the improvement of our economy. We realize that we have an important role to play with regard to our neighbors in southern Africa and throughout the continent. We want to play a constructive role. We are of Africa and Africa's woes are also a problem for us, and development and improvement of conditions throughout Africa is also to the benefit of us.

Thus, I would like to assure all fellow Africans that we in South Africa—and I think I can truly speak on behalf of all our leaders—are reaching out across our borders. We wish you a blessed Christmas and we hope that 1993 will, for each and every country in Africa and for our continent as a whole, be a good year, a year of good rains, a year of improving economic conditions, a year of the ending of conflict and of violence, a year of peace. [end recording]

#### SADF Officers on Compulsory Retirement Named

MB2912105292 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1037 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Cape Town Dec 29 SAPA—The names of several senior South African Defence Force [SADF] members, who have been put on compulsory leave or compulsory retirement, have been announced by Defence Minister Gene Louw.

In a statement released on Tuesday, Mr Louw said Col A. J. Nel, Col C. J. C. Prinsloo and Cmdt S. Snyders of the SADF's Permanent Force (PF) had been put on compulsory leave pending further investigations.

A board of inquiry had already been convened by the chief of the SADF to investigate possible illegal and/or criminal or unauthorised activities against the three officers as well as against four civilian members of the Defence Force.

Mr Louw said six more PF members had been placed on compulsory retirement, but he stressed that they were not linked to any illegal or criminal activities.

"Investigations concerning one futher member of the permanent force are in process and a statement in this regard may be issued in due course, pending the results of such investigation. "The names of the six members of the Permanent Force are: Maj-Gen H. Roux; Maj-Gen C. R. J. Thirion, Brig F. J. van Wyk; Brig J. J. Botha; Brig J. O. van der Merwe and Commander H. J. Widdowson," Mr Louw said.

On December 19, State President F. W. de Klerk held a surprise news conference during which he announced, in effect, a purge of the SADF, following an investigation which revealed alleged illegal activities.

At the news conference, Mr de Klerk said that although 16 SADF members—including two generals and four brigadiers—had been given compulsory retirement, not all 16 were guilty of malpractice.

The retirement of some formed part of the first phase of the re-organisation of certain services, he said.

#### Structure of Military Intelligence Discussed

MB2712143792 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 27 Dec 92 p 17

[By Jacques Pauw: "The three tentacles"]

[Text] MI [Military Intelligence] is divided into three chief directorates: they are Command Operations, Military Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence.

Counter-Intelligence is responsible for the protection of the SADF's [South African Defence Force] internal security and the prevention of infiltration by army [as published] agents.

This directorate is headed by General Dirk Verbeek, a professional career soldier with a staunch following, but said to be an avid supporter of the Afrikaner-Volkswag [Afrikaner National Guard]. He will probably retire soon.

Command Operations is the SADF's propaganda arm, responsible for running the "hearts and minds" campaign.

It appears to work substantially through front companies and covert operations divided into "friendly forces" and "enemy forces".

The Chief Directorate of Military Intelligence (CDMI) is the largest, the most senior and mostly widely briefed of the three directorates, commanded until this week by [General Chris] Thirion.

According to an analysis by the Military Research Group, this directorate appears to be nothing more than a ghost from the apartheid past. In the Directorate Southern Africa, it is divided into three separate desks: the west front, the east front and the home front, divided into sections like the ANC/PAC [African National Congress/Pan Africanist Congress] desk, church affairs desk, a subversion desk and a terrorism desk.

CDMI also accommodates the Directorate of Electronic Warfare, Directorate Foreign Relations and Directorate Special Tasks, which handled the support and coordination of the SADF's Special Forces.

#### Disarray in Ranks of Military Intelligence

MB2712144092 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 27 Dec 92 p 17

[By Jacques Pauw: "MI-a sinister spider's nest"]

[Text] It is a monstrous and bloated bureaucracy dating back to the era of the total onslaught. Within its secret confines nameless soldiers work in ominous-sounding sections like a psychological warfare department, subversion desk, church affairs desk, ANC/PAC [African National Congress/Pan Africanist Congress] desk and a directorate of electronic warfare.

Intelligence sources say more than 1,000 soldiers, intelligence agents and operatives are part of the Military Intelligence [MI] web of intrigue that stretches from MI's headquarters in the Liberty Life building in Pretoria to various front companies in South Africa, neighbouring states and abroad.

This week, President de Klerk forced two generals and four brigadiers to instantly pack their bags and leave. Another 17 officers have been forced to take early retirement or compulsory leave in what has been described as the biggest army purge in South African history.

MI ranks were in disarray this week as officers frantically tried to find out who was involved. They were not briefed about the purge, their futures in intelligence or about the restructuring of the intelligence family.

The purge has removed the top structure of Army Intelligence (AI) and according to sources, at least half of the affected officers were based in AI. The top AI officers, General Hennie Roux and Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, were named earlier this week as having vacated their offices.

Another top officer and director of AI, Brigadier Oos van der Merwe, recently took early retirement while Van Wyk's confidant, Colonel Connie van Rensburg, was suddenly transferred to Wits [Witwatersrand] Command at the beginning of this month.

Various other AI officers have been mentioned by military sources as possibly involved in the purge because of their past involvement in clandestine MI projects. Among them is Colonel Tobie Vermaak, a former SADF [South African Defence Force] undercover communications operations expert who assisted the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia in their campaign against Swapo [South-West African People's Organization].

Vermaak then acted as a businessman, and came back to Al after Namibian independence.

There was some surprise this week over the forced retirement of General Chris Thirion, deputy-chief of MI. Although he is not regarded as an opponent of De Klerk's reform policies, he approved most projects of the Directorate of Covert Communications (DCC).

While Van Wyk is nicknamed the "King of Dirty Tricks" for his discrediting campaigns against Swapo in Namibia and the ANC in South Africa, Brigadier Tolletjie Botha headed the DCC.

A senior MI officer was surprised when he recently heard about Botha's exposure as commander of DCC. It has been reported that Botha started the DCC 15 years ago.

"I attended his farewell party in 1975 when he resigned from the SADF to start a business venture. I wasn't even aware of his continuous links with the SADF or the scale of operations of DCC," the officer said.

Several Botha's top officers and agents have been named as possible victims of the purge, including Colonels At Nel and Anton Nieuwoudt. Nel is said to have handled former Civil Co-operation Bureau operative and convicted murderer Ferdi Barnard's controversial project to discredit the ANC.

Nieuwoudt emerged as the key player in bringing Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo into the Government camp after the March 1990 coup. Nieuwoudt was earlier also involved in covert operations within the front company Dynamic Teaching in the runup to the Namibian independence elections.

Nieuwoudt was also named as having been involved in the secret training of 200 paramilitary Inkatha soldiers at secret bases in Natal and Namibia in 1987. In evidence before the Goldstone Commission, the soldiers were linked to a series of violent activities in Natal and Transvaal townships.

According to evidence before the Goldstone Commission, DCC has been involved in a scheme whereby refugees from Mozambique, many of them trained deserters from the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebel unit or the Mozambican army, are used to carry out "third force"-type attacks on ANC activists. Evidence by Mozambican Joao Cuna led Goldstone investigators to the DCC's office.

DCC was also responsible for setting up the controversial Johannesburg City Council spy ring, exposed by The Star in 1990.

Among the projects carried out by members of the unit was an attack on actors taking part in an anti-war play, disrupting and teargassing a "leftist" music concert, the burning of two vehicles, a petrol bomb and grenade attack on a house in Soweto, the petrol bombing of a house in Orange Grove and a grenade attack on two Israeli businessmen.

Sources said that the result of De Klerk putting his spanner into MI works will be a new, more streamlined intelligence family in line with current political developments.

#### 'Suspicion' Purge 'Window Dressing'

MB2712131092 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 27 Dec 92 p 4

[By David Breier, political correspondent: "Military purge a con?"]

[Text] Suspicion is growing that the purging of a top military intelligence general supposedly involved in dirty tricks, was window dressing to make F.W. de Klerk look good.

Major-General Chris Thirion, second-in-command of Military Intelligence [MI], faced ordinary retrenchment along with thousands of other SADF [South African Defense Force] personnel losing their jobs in huge defence cutbacks aimed at budget reductions.

SADF sources told the Sunday Star that it was highly likely that Thirion had been asked to "take the heat" for a few days to help the Government look good in tackling military dirty tricks.

In exchange, Thirion could get a lump sum tax-free gratuity of up to R[rand]360,000 and an annual pension as high as R120,000 in a generous retirement package.

He has 30 years' service and at the age of 53 is nearing the normal 55-year retirement age for generals.

Thirion is widely known in defence circles as a pro-FW man who has made his allegiance no secret.

But SADF sources said it was highly likely that Thirion was willing to be the fall-guy for a few days in exchange for lucrative early retirement.

It was highly unlikely that he would be responsible for dirty tricks without the knowledge of this commander, Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, head of MI who has emerged unscathed so far from the investigation by SADF chief-of-staff Pierre Steyn.

This week Thirion said he had done nothing to damage the political process. His signature appeared on documents but he said he had acted in terms of his mandate to collect information.

He expressed his full support for De Klerk and accepted the President's decision.

Thirion is the highest-profile officer of the 23 purged in connection with military dirty tricks first exposed by the Goldstone Commission. The other general is believed to be Major-General Hennie Roux, Army chief-of-staff.

Two of the four brigadiers are Tolletjie Botha, head of MI's Directorate of Covert Collection, and Ferdie van Wyk, director of Army Communications.

African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was now a suspicion that some of the senior officers were being used as the "fall guys" for Van der Westhuizen and army Chief Georg Meiring who were unscathed. Former head of MI Tienie Groenewald, an avowed rightwinger who resigned from the SADF two years ago, said the purge was totally inexplicable as some of the senior officers forced into retirement were staunch Nat [National Party] supporters.

#### Goldstone Reports on Mooi River Violence

MB2812090992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2249 GMT 27 Dec 92

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 28 SAPA—An outside mediator will be appointed to facilitate the peace process in Natal's violence-wracked Mooi River/Bruntville region.

This is contained in the final Goldstone Commission report, released on Monday [28 December], on violence in the region.

The report was compiled by a committee established by the Goldstone Commission to investigate the unremitting violence in the township since January 1992. It follows a similar investigation by an earlier Goldstone Committee into violence that took place in December 1991.

In the six-month period from January 21 to July 21 1992, 22 murders, 15 incidents of arson, seven handgrenade explosions and at least 20 gun attacks were recorded in the township, the report said, with violence level having peaked in March this year.

The committee said feuding parties in the township—the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party—had agreed to meet the proposed mediator, Mr Nico Coetzer, recommended by the Association of Law Societies.

The committee proposed that a failed Local Dispute Resolution Committee (LDRC) be revived and international observers be invited to participate.

The success of the mediation would depend on the support of local and regional political leaders and their encouragement of political tolerance.

The committee said it was heartened by the committment to peace expressed by all leaders who appeared before it, in particular by an IFP gesture to lay down arms for as long as ANC members kept peace.

The gesture should be equalled with a reduction in concealed weapons and underpinned by sensitive policing aimed at community cooperation towards disarmament.

The committee recognised that both the IFP-supporting hostel inmates and ANC orientated township residents had legitimate concerns.

The hostel needed urgent upgrading and should be fenced as a security measure. The committee said it was

however encouraging that the regional ANC leader, in his testimony, had recognised the interests of the inmates.

Following an extensive criticism of the efficiency of police investigations into violence which plagued the township in December 1991, the committee said it was unacceptable for the police to argue that its actions had no relevance to the violence and should therefore not be scrutinised.

"A finding that the police did not actively instigate violence is not the end of the matter, for both their pro-active intervention and their investigations can have a real impact on actions and attitudes in the community and therefore on the levels of violence."

Police needed to respond to calls from the community for protection and keep the community informed of the progress of its investigations to encourage an impression of a professional and effective police force, the committee said.

Local police needed clarification on the policy regarding the carrying of dangerous weapons and better procedures for the collection of evidence in riot situations, it added.

In a sharp criticism of the police the committee said it had not been impressed by investigations conducted by a W/O [warrant officer] Benade into the December 1991 violence.

Charges against 172 people linked to the December violence were withdrawn and their weapons returned to them by the police.

No forensic tests had been done, confiscated weapons were never linked to the accused, blood smears not linked to the weapons, nor were the clothes of the accused examined microscopically.

W/O Benade had also not taken notice of the work of the earlier committee investigating the same incident, and did not conside, affidavits from witnesses made to the committee.

However, despite ANC allegations of police bias, no clear evidence of such bias was presented to the committee.

As the township community distrusts the police, police found it hard to cooperate with the community, working more closely with the hostel inmates, and therefore reinforcing the cycle of distrust.

The carrying of dangerous weapons remained a problem among ANC and IFP supporters, with police experiencing difficulties in enforcing the recommendations of the previous committee in this regard.

In a detailed explanation of the causes of the Mooi River/Bruntville violence, the committee said the immediate cause of the violence was the cycle of attacks and counter-attacks between the ANC-dominated Bruntville township and the IFP controlled hostel.

No evidence was presented to the committee that any outside group had been involved in the violence. Folice, according to the committee, appeared to have heeded the commission's advice not to launch "undercover" operations which could be mistaken for "third force" actions.

Hostilities in the township went beyond mere rivalry for political dominance, with social issues like ANC youth taunting the older and often less educated IFP supporting hostel inmates.

Polarisation between the two groups was reinforced by them competing for scarce economic resources. A protracted labour dispute at the major local employer Mooitex resulted in the textile mill employing mainly hostel inmates, adding to the frustration of excluded township residents.

Hostel dwellers also felt threatened by township residents' demands for the hostel to be removed. The inmates had become increasingly isolated from township life with their custom not accepted in township stores.

There was great disillusionment among the community as expectations that the earlier Goldstone Committee's intervention would resolve the violence had not been met. The reason for this was that many of the earlier committee's recommendations had not been implemented and attempts to get a local dispute resolution committee off the ground had failed.

#### **SAP Commissioner Reacts**

MB2812154492 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1436 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Cape Town Dec 28 SAPA—A police officer criticised by a Goldstone Committee investigating violence in Natal's Mooi River/Bruntville area, will leave the South African Police [SAP] in December. Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said on Monday [28 December]. In a statement reacting to the release of the committee's report. Gen van der Merwe said W/O Johan Benade would be leaving the force at the end of December.

The committee, appointed by Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the violence in the town, reported that it had not been impressed by investigations conducted by W/O Benade into fighting which broke out on December 3 and 4 1991. Charges against 172 people linked to the violence were withdrawn for lack of evidence subsequent to his investigation and their weapons returned to them by the police.

No forensic tests were done, confiscated weapons were never linked to the accused, blood smears were not linked to the weapons and nor were the clothes of the accused examined microscopically, the committee found.

Gen van der Merwe said the investigation into the December 1991 violence "was addressed by the SAP as a matter of urgency a few months ago". A new investigating officer, W/O R Robson, was appointed in September, and the warrant officer had already established his bona fides with the community and met the different parties, Gen van der Merwe said.

"Maj-Gen P L du Toit who is based at SAP headquarters in Pretoria and who has been appointed in terms of the National Peace Accord, will co-ordinate the investigation. "W/O Benade, the previous investigating officer, leaves the SAP at the end of December 1992," Gen van der Merwe said. He did not elaborate on the circumstances of the warrant officer's departure.

Gen van der Merwe said the report on the violence in Mooi River was being studied "and the matters which have not yet been addressed will receive attention as soon as possible". He gave the assurance that everything possible was being done to wrap up the case.

"I trust that the community will assist and support the police and, in turn, members of the SAP will ensure that the community is effectively served in a fair and impartial manner," Gen van der Merwe said.

#### IFP, ANC Reactions

MB2912090092 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] The IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] says the Goldstone Commission's third interim report on violence is biased. The report was released yesterday. Inkatha takes issue with the report's identification of the political rivalry between it and the ANC [African National Congress] as being the primary trigger of violence. The IFP says this ignores the role of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], which it said is fomenting violence. Inkatha also accuses the commission of ignoring what Inkatha calls, an ongoing ANC program of ungovernability aimed at the IFP's rule and support base. The IFP also says it finds it strange that reporters find no space to comment on what the IFP calls, the continuing assassination of IFP leaders.

The ANC will also respond in full once its National Working Committees have studied the commission's report. But spokesman Carl Niehaus says it is wrong to deal out the blame for violence equally between the ANC and Inkatha. He accuses Inkatha of using violence as a tool in trying to establish political dominance. Niehaus is also lukewarm toward the Goldstone suggestion that political leaders who break the provisions of the National Peace Accord should be barred from addressing meetings for a specified time. Niehaus says the ANC respects the principle that leaders should not attack each other publicly, but he doubts whether the Goldstone suggestion of a political [word indistinct] is the way to keep politicians in line.

#### **Further on IFP Reaction**

MB2912113392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1024 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Pietermaritzburg Dec 29 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] has objected to some of the findings of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry relating to the Mooiriver-Bruntville area, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

In a statement from Pietermaritzburg, the leadership of the IFP in the Natal Midlands said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the African National Congress [ANC] agreed to abide by the National Peace Accord.

Inkatha spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional IFP leadership had also never agreed to the fencing of the Bruntville hostel. Mr Ndlovu said this had simply been an arrangement between the ANC and the National Party [NP] which was contained in their September "Record of Understanding".

The IFP would never be fenced in by the ANC, the NP or even the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Ndlovu said his organisation did not trust the ANC at Bruntville because Inkatha leaders and supporters were still being attacked in the region.

#### Labor Party Holds Congress in Port Elizabeth

#### Disagreement on Dual Membership

MB2912113292 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1016 GMT 29 Dec 92

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Port Elizabeth Dec 29 SAPA—Two Labour Party [LP] members of Parliament have clashed publicly over the question of dual membership and a possible Labour Party alliance with the ANC [African National Congress].

Speaking during debate on the LP's future at its congress in Port Elizabeth on Tuesday, nominated MP Jannie Douw said he differed fundamentally with Addo MP Peter Hendrickse, who earlier argued in favour of an LP alliance with the African National Congress [ANC].

Mr Douw said that such an alliance would place the Labour Party in an invidious position in Parliament and would be to its detriment.

"If someone wants to resign and join another party by all means let him do so."

Stressing that he was not anti-ANC, Mr Douw said a large number of people would not vote for either the National Party or the ANC, because of their histories.

He favoured the formation of a moderate centralist party for all South Africans.

Mr Douw also lashed out at COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] President John Gomomo,

who had warned of continued mass action next year in protest against an imminent VAT [value- added tax] increase.

"It is immoral of John Gomomo to come here with his war talk. He is not unemployed."

Earlier, Mr Peter Hendrickse accused the National Party of using the debate on federalism versus regionalism as a divisive strategem.

He said only a constituent assembly could legitimately determine the respective powers to be allocated to different levels of government.

Mr Hendrickse strongly supported a Labour Party alliance with the ANC, which he described as the only organisation capable of leading South Africa to a peaceful, stable and prosperous future.

"We dare not let the National Party win the next election. We have got to get our act together," Mr Hendrickse said.

#### Amendment Paves Way for ANC Alliance

MB2912113692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1127 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Port Elizabeth Dec 29 SAPA—The Labour Party [LP] has unanimously adopted an amendment to its constitution which paves the way for an alliance with the African National Congress [ANC].

Delegates at the 27th annual conference in Port Elizabeth on Tuesday approved the resolution, which allows the formation of an alliance with "any organisations which stands for a nonracial democratic and a just South Africa."

However, a motion proposing that LP members may hold dual membership with any other organisation committed to a nonracial democratic South Africa was overwhelmingly defeated.

Several speakers had earlier strongly contested the issue of dual membership and argued that LP members who wished to join other organisations should resign in order to do so.

The resolution proposing constitutional amendment to cater for the LP's dissolution, or for a merger with other organisations, was withdrawn.

#### DP 'Hijacking' Labor's Centralist Initiative

MB2912104892 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0933 GMT 29 Dec 92

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Port Elizabeth Dec 29 SAPA—The Labour Party [LP] has accused the Democratic Party [DP] of "hijacking" the centralist initiative which the LP claims to have started.

LP Deputy Leader Miley Richards accused the DP of "trying to bolster their own little movement by grabbing some of our people. What the DP has done is tantamount to criminal action", he said.

Mr Richards said the LP had been the first to suggest the merging of like-minded political forces in a single centralist political grouping.

He argued strongly for the Labour Party to align themselves with the Patriotic Front and said the LP's expertise would prove crucial in a forthcoming nonracial election.

"It is impossible for the Labour Party to survive on its own. The survival of the Labour Party lies with the Patriotic Front. I have no doubt that the Patriotic Front represents a future government of South Africa."

The leader of the LP's northern Transvaal region, Mr Solomon Verveen, said the coloured community had developed a distinctive culture over the past 300 years but should not fear the disappearance of this culture if the Labour Party joined the Patriotic Front.

Nominated LP MP Isak Kruger said the Patriotic Front should not become an anti-white institution.

He said both the white and coloured communities would be disadvantaged in future because state socio-economic spending would be largely aimed at blacks.

#### Buthelezi Hopes 1993 'Most Momentous' in History

MB2712153192 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 27 Dec 92 p 25

["End of Year Message and Open Letter to All South Africans by Mangosutho Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha Freedom Party" from Ulundi on 21 December]

[Text] My dear fellow South African Citizens:

During this festive season, and as the year draws to an end, I wish to join with you and your families in a moment of reflection and hope for the future. 1992 has been a year of historical importance in the troubled process of transformation of our society. It opened with great hopes which were unfortunately unfilled. Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] failed, violence was not curtailed and the conflict has been escalating beyond control. The solution for the new constitutional dispensation, which at the beginning of 1992 looked within immediate reach, still seems now to be more far removed than ever.

It really goes without saying that the next twelve months could well turn out to be the most momentous in the history of South Africa. It is clearly the year in which will be laid the foundations for our emerging democracy. The crisp issue to be decided is whether we will opt for a genuine liberal democracy, similar to successful democracies in the whole world, or be misled by the beguiling and empty promises of failed utopian socialist experiments.

The choice of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] is clear. We opt for liberal democracy as understood in the West, with African characteristics and wisdom as summed up in the African philosophy of Ubuntu-Botho. Over 30 years ago, the fathers of African liberation and independence demanded the right of Africa to either "manage or mismanage" our own affairs. Others stated it quite plainly that we as Africans in Africa, seek the opportunity to rule ourselves even if this means "misgoverning ourselves". That heroic call for independence and freedom to do as we please at any cost and regardless of consequences, has led to the present disastrous and humiliating situation in which the richest continent in natural resources has the poorest countries and peoples. We must do everything to avoid a repeat of these same experiences in South Africa.

As apartheid and oppression recede and freedom approaches, our people must insist not only on political freedom but also on economic justice through good government, efficient agriculture, industry and commerce and visible rewards for private enterprise and hard work. We need the peace and personal security that flows from discipline, law and order.

However, as 1993 approaches, we see new hope for peace, freedom and social justice for our society. We have made a commitment to try to capture and capitalise on these hopes and aspirations.

1992 closed with the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal.

As 1993 opens we will carry this new Constitution into a process of scrutiny and approval throughout the newly created State. We will also intensify our commitment to negotiate with all parties a fair and balanced constitutional dispensation for South Africa based on the fundamental principles of federalism, pluralism, privatisation, a free market economy, social justice, and enthrenchment of constitutional guarantees.

Along with our constitutional commitment 1993 will see our renewed effort to put a stop to the current escalation of political and criminal violence. Our unwavering commitment to eliminate violence from the political process will be reinforced and strengthened through our constitutional initiatives, and through our continued rejection of any type of political provocation and call for violence and social unrest.

For 20 years I have committed myself to the politics of non-violence. I have no private army and I have never used any form of intimidation as a method of political action. I have always believed that reason and justice will eventually triumph, and I feel that 1993 will be the year of crowning of the expectations of all South Africans.

I do not wish to conceal the fact that, in my view, 1993 is going to be a troubled year. Our economy is not likely to improve until the process of transformation of our society is completed, and it is likely that through the

negotiation process, tension and social unrest may be generated. We as an institutional force, are committed to resisting any form of mass action or call for social unrest. However, in order to succeed through this difficult period, we need the support and the direct involvement of all South Africans in defence of reason and justice. I believe that 1993 will be a year which will no longer allow any South African to remain detached from the process of transformation of our society.

There are those who have decided that they have already won the forthcoming general elections, even before the electorate has had a chance to cast its votes. Those who fear the challenge of the IFP are already indulging in wishful thinking by assigning a diminished role to our party in the life of the country. For this reason I feel this message would be incomplete without me making our policy crystal clear once and for all.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will contest and put forward candidates for all and every election throughout South Africa at national, State/regional or local level. The policy we will put forward at all such elections will be for a constitution which establishes a united democratic Federal Republic of South Africa. Our manifesto will outline economic policies based on the foreign investment in labour intensive sectors that guarantee jobs for all, equal opportunities for all citizens and provision of adequate housing, health and educational facilities. We believe in social justice and not in socialism.

Now is the time for all to come together in a spirit of national conciliation, mutual understanding and commitment to non-violence, social justice and freedom. We need to nourish the spirit of Christmas and build on our historical ties. Today at Christmas we are one nation consisting of may peoples under God. We shall remain one nation consisting of many peoples under God throughout 1993. May the Lord help you to achieve success in all your endeavours in 1993.

I wish you all the blessing of Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

#### U.S. Decision on Troops for Somalia Viewed

MB29:2104692 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Dec 92 p 12

[By Barney Mthombothi in the "Out of Africa" column: "Somalia today, SA Tomorrow"]

[Text] George Bush takes his final salute amid the destruction in Somalia this week before he leaves the White House next month. But his decision to send American soldiers to east Africa will leave observers scratching their heads long after his departure. While the decision will afford him the opportunity to leave office in a blaze of glory, some fundamental questions will be left begging for answers.

Why a march into Somalia by an administration which has shown only indifference to African soncerns all these

years? If Somalia, why not Liberia? Or will it be South Africa at some future date? And the fundamental question that African diplomats and observers are asking is: what is America's current African policy? Does it have any policy at all?

Much of America's foreign policy was driven by the Cold War. It was simply to compete against the Soviet Union for influence—the Monroe and Reagan doctrines rolled into one. That was a simple enough policy for even Ronald Reagan to understand. Whoever was a friend of the Soviets was America's enemy, and whoever opposed them was a friend. And America would use all its power to make life hell for all who went to bed with the communists.

The demise of the Soviet empire has of course made nonsense of this policy. Russia, shorn of its reluctant appendages, is now not only sucking up to Uncle Sam, it has, with its begging bowl in hand, joined the long queue for American aid. The U.S. is now unchallenged as the only superpower.

The new situation has therefore left America's lackeys around the world, and especially in Africa, sore and confused. Whereas in the past they were guaranteed generous American aid and support regardless of their behaviour, they have now been told in no uncertain terms to clean up their act in order to earn the American embrace.

It is doubtful whether multiparty democracy would have been introduced in Africa had the Soviet Union not collapsed. The disappearance of the Cold War has encouraged the West, led by the U.S., to read the riot act to its African acolytes. Even dinosaurs like Malawi's Hastings Banda are showing signs of responding to the chill winds of disfavour from Western capitals.

The decision to send troops to Somalia is of course enmeshed in internal American politics. The marines should have been dispatched to Liberia two years ago. Liberia has long-standing ties with the U.S., having been ruled for years by former American slaves. But troops weren't dispatched—the U.S. was otherwise engaged in the Gulf.

It is also difficult to imagine George Bush sending the troops before the elections. Now he has nothing to lose, and whatever mess that may follow will sit on somebody else's lap. He may also want to teach the young upstart who is to succeed him that foreign policy does matter.

UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali seems to have shamed members of the Security Council into focusing their attention on the tragedy in Somalia when chided for spending an inordinate amount of time on what he called the rich man's war in Bosnia.

Why not Bosnia too, then? Dick Cheney, Bush's defence secretary, said Somalia was "military doable". In other words, Bosnia could have the makings of a Vietnam for America. Somalia is safer. But can America walk in, feed the hungry, and walk out? Who walks into the vacuum after the Americans have left, and if that happened, would the intervention have served any purpose?

There are whispers in certain quarters of a new colonialism. Those should be disregarded. It is only heartening to see America for a change using its unchallenged position in the world, and its resources for a humanitarian cause.

The action also proves that it is a bit premature to talk of Africa as being a marginalised or forgotten continent.

#### Scientists to Antarctic Base Next Week

MB2912104992 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0952 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Cape Town Dec 29 SAPA—The Navy's hydrographic survey ship leaves for the Antarctic early next week to take 35 scientists to the Sanae base on the icy continent, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Public Relations Officer Lt-Cmdr Melanie le Roux said Protea would rendezvous with Antarctic supply vessel SA Agulhas in the southern ocean, to transfer the scientists, stores and fuel.

Under the command of Cmdr Dereck Law, Protea would return to her home base at Simonstown on the 20th of next month.

#### Race Relations Institute Says 1992 'Black Year'

MB2812180392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1524 GMT 28 Dec 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by South African Institute of Race Relations]

[Text] 1992 was a black year for all South Africans, but blacker for black people. This emerges from the latest edition of FAST FACTS, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The publication—a compilation of statistics showing key trends in the country in 1992—contains chilling reminders of the continuing effects of apartheid, as black people continue to bear the brunt of political and criminal violence and of the country's economic decline.

According to the Institute, racial imbalances are still evident in key areas such as education, employment prospects, housing, public amenities and health care.

Education statistics show that:

In 1991/92 per capita expenditure on school education by race was as follows: Africans, R[rand]1,248; coloured pupils, R2,701; and whites, R4,448.

1.7m [million] children between the ages of six and 17 years (including the ten homelands) were not in school.

The pass rates in 1991 matriculation examinations in South Africa (including all the homelands except the Transkei) were: Africans 41 percent, coloured pupils 83 percent, Indians 95 percent and whites 96 percent.

While African enrolment at technical colleges increased by 230 percent, African enrolment still comprised only a quarter of total enrolment at technical colleges in 1992.

Employment prospects for black matriculants in 1993 are bleak, the chief economist of the Small Business Development Corporation, Dr Edwin Basson, predicting that the only sector offering job opportunities to matriculants in 1993 will be the informal sector. [sentence as received]

According to the National Manpower Commission there were about 5.4m people in South Africa (including the ten homelands) without formal employment in 1991. Of this figure about 2.5m to 3m earned a living in the informal sector, while another 2.5m to 3m were unemployed.

FAST FACTS notes an important statistic relating to wages and employment—a 14.4 percent average annual growth rate in unit labour costs in manufacturing (between 1985 and 1990), compared with -1 percent for Japan.

Black incomes continue to be far below those of whites:

Average monthly household incomes for the various racial groups for 1991 were: Africans R779; coloured people R1,607; Indians R2,476; whites R4,679. Fifty-eight percent of African households earned below R700 a month in 1991, while 51 percent of white households earned over R4,000 a month. Overall, 66 percent of the African population and 50 percent of the total population live below the poverty datum line.

FAST FACTS notes that between 3.5m and 10m people are currently living in informal settlements and backyard shacks. To eliminate the housing backlog 198,000 houses need to be built each year for the next ten years—while only 2,700 "affordable" formal houses (costing less than R65,000) were built in 1991.

In 1992 there were approximately 604,000 beds in hostels. FAST FACTS quotes a COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] estimate that in some hostels there were as many as six residents per hostel bed.

While an increase in housing expenditure from 3 percent to 5 percent of gross domestic product had been recommended, the 1992/93 budget for housing decreased by 8 percent in real terms.

#### FAST FACTS also notes:

An estimated 23m black people have no access to domestic electricity:

Four million people have minimal water supply, and 7m have minimal sanitation.

#### Trade Unions Warn of Mass Action Over Taxes

MB2812130392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1152 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Port Elizabeth Dec 28 SAPA—Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] President John Gomomo on Monday warned of renewed mass action in the New Year if the government increased taxes.

Speaking at the Labour Party [LP] conference in Port Elizabeth Mr. Gomomo said Finance Minister Derek Keys had indicated he was likely to announce tax increases in his 1993 budget speech.

"We are not going to accept the government manipulating and misusing our taxes."

Mr. Gomomo said political freedom had to be fought for, and mass action played an integral role in that struggle.

ANC [African National Congress] eastern Cape Chairman Linda Mti, and Raymond Mhlaba of the South African Communist Party, both called for unity of "the oppressed" and pledged their organisations' support for the LP.

#### Russian Envoy on Relations, Prospects

MB2812110792 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Dec 92 p 9

[Report by Helen Grange: "Pragmatism First for Russian Ambassador"]

[Text] The Russian Federation's first ambassador to South Africa Yevgeniy Petrovitch Gusarov is intent on exorcising the ghosts of the former Soviet Union's history in South Africa, even if it means leaving some former Soviet allies here disappointed.

His message is simple: Communism and the Cold War are over. We are here to forge as much co-operation with South Africa on all fronts as possible, and we wish South Africa the best of luck in its transition to democracy.

Impeccably diplomatic, Gusarov is undoubtedly qualified to face the challenge of visibly redefining Moscow's profile in South Africa as peace broker.

He is accessible, speaks razor sharp English with plans to learn Afrikaans, and has a mind which clearly leans toward the pragmatic.

Confident, he nevertheless becomes self-effacing when asked if there are any lessons to be learnt from the Soviet's epic tragedy.

In a response filled with poignant irony, Gusarov says only: "We know better from the difficulties and pain of our past that violence is not a solution.

"We are no longer giving advice, only to say that both our countries are in the process of transformation and that it's irrevocable. We must make sure it goes on peacefully."

After 100 years without Soviet diplomatic representation in South Africa, Gusarov's arrival on November 1 to set up an embassy signalled a new dawn for South Africa's relations with Asia's biggest and most developed region.

It was, however, a blow to the SA Communist Party [SACP], which has stated that the move was premature and counterproductive, and should have only been considered once interim transitional arrangements were in place.

Gusarov is quite stern on this score: "We have no relationship with the SACP. The Communist Party at home has been banned, so there are no links at all. How this (the establishment of the embassy) will be resolved here is not for me to say."

The Russian Federation's efforts to purge its past and be incorporated as an active member of the democratic world forms its strongest bond with South Africa, also attempting to legitimise itself in the global community.

This mutual struggle is what Gusarov sees as the key to cooperation between the two nations.

Cautiously, he says: "As I understand it, your economy is not at its best. Ours, as you know, not at its best either. We need to be inventive as to what we can do together ... as we are both exporting nations, we have a choice of whether to compete or work together. I would rather see us working together. We have to be taken seriously in the world market."

The most obvious line of economic co-operation, and one that has already been widely explored by businessmen from both countries, is that of mining technology and aviation.

The Russian Federation is impressed with South Africa's advancement in mineral extraction techniques, while South Africa is very interested in what Moscow has to offer in the line of aircraft and aircraft parts.

A joint project in the world marketing of gold extraction technology has already been agreed in August between the Mineral and Energy Affairs department and the Russian Federation's Ministry of Atomic Energy.

During State President F.W. de Klerk's visit to Moscow last year, a trade agreement was also set up whereby South Africa would export consumer goods at bargain prices, and Pretoria would extend to Moscow a R[rand]100 million revolving credit line.

Gusarov will be facilitating further trade contact, but his immediate plans are to meet and develop good relations with "the leaders of parties participating in the peace process".

He emphasises these words, clearly to reiterate the Russian Federation's new non-ideological role in South Africa and the continent at large.

Much of the ground work of diplomatic contact has already taken place through an exchange of trade missions established at the end of 1991.

Gusarov is indebted to the two men who ran it, and both will be staying on to share their experience with the staff of the new embassy.

Residential accommodation is still being organised, but already there's a sense of settlement in the embassy's modest offices in Hatfield, Pretoria.

Gusarov is anxious to see how his 11-year-old son is going to cope with his new school, but is pleased that he already has a friend in the 11-year-old son of another embassy staffer.

As to the length of his stay in South Africa, Gusarov has no idea. "There's a lot of catching up to do considering the fact that we last attempted diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1892," he enthuses.

#### Police Find Arms Cache of Stolen Weapons

MB2712210992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Police have found a cache of firearms, ammunition, and explosives, all of which were stolen from the Defense Force, in a house in Buccleuch, Johannesburg.

Police suspect that a former Defense Force gunsmith and an accomplice are involved. It's believed that the two men, both in their 20s, have left the country. At this stage police don't think the robbery was politically motivated.

[Begin SABC reporter Johann Claasen recording] Acting on a tip- off on Christmas day from a Verwoerdburg man, police were led to a trunk containing three Uzi sub-machine guns, magazines, parts of a pistol, and several rounds of ammunition. After further investigation police arrived at a house in Buccleuch, where almost 3kg of commercial explosives, 230 meters of detonating fuse, an R1 rifle, magazines, as well as a large quantity of ammunition was found in the ceiling of the house. Other items, like firearm propellants, and teargas, were also found. [end recording]

#### Disposal of Weapons-Grade Uranium Poses Problems

MB2712153092 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 27 Dec 92 p 9

[Report by political correspondent David Breier: "The dump of death"]

[Text] International concern is growing at South Africa's suspected stockpile of highly-enriched uranium, lethal enough to kill millions with cancer.

The uranium was enriched at Pelindaba during the "total onslaught" era when the Government developed the capability of making nuclear bombs.

Although South Africa signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) last year undertaking not to make nuclear bombs, nobody knows what to do with the dump of death now that it has no military function.

Western sources told the Sunday Star they accepted that South Africa now had no possible strategic use for nuclear weapons. But they said the real problem was that the country was lumped with the monumental headache of what to do with what is believed to be between 200 and 400 kg of weapons-grade uranium.

Bad though South Africa's problem is, it is a fraction of the headache facing Russia and the United States, which are beginning to dismantle their vast nuclear arsenals after the end of the Cold War.

The De Klerk Government signed the NPT last year, subjecting itself to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspections which have reportedly revealed that South Africa had secretly produced several hundreds kilograms of weapons-grade uranium in the 1970s and 1980s.

The journal Nucleonics Week estimates the country has enough weapons-grade uranium to make about 25 nuclear bombs.

The journal also claimed an IAEA short-notice inspection found equipment for making "fissile cores" for nuclear bombs at an abandoned site known as Building 5,000 near the Pelindaba reactor.

The Atomic Energy Corporation [AEC] has denied that nuclear bomb-making equipment was stored at the mothballed building, but the AEC is not saying whether the country ever had a nuclear development programme.

This week the African National Congress [ANC], reacting to a growing number of international reports on South Africa's secret uranium stockpile, accused the Government of holding the people of South Africa hostage to a possible nuclear threat.

But Western sources pointed out that a possible future ANC government would have exactly the same headache as the nuclear stockpile could not simply be destroyed, shipped away or thrown into the sea, but would be lethal for centuries.

There is also growing international concern at South Africa's continued missile development programme as rockets used to launch satellites could also be used to deliver nuclear bombs. South Africa is believed to have developed missiles jointly with Israel.

#### Illegal Immigrants Face 'Mass Deportation'

MB2712122692 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Dec 92 p 3

[By Charis Perkins: "Desparate Chinese face deportation"]

[Text] Illegal Chinese immigrants face mass deportation from South Africa in the new year.

Two people have already been sent back to mainland China and another 12 are in custody this weekend in Johannesburg, Edenvale and Pretoria, pending deportation.

More than 8,000 people, desperate to escape communist China, have arrived in South Africa after paying a mysterious syndicate in their home towns up to R[rand]25,000 for "passports to prosperity".

The latest group arrived at Jan Smuts on December 13 after paying R20,000 for two-week holiday visas.

They include professors, lawyers, doctors, teachers and architects. But, faced with no work, they have turned to hawking cheap Hong Kong watches imported by the Taiwanese on street corners in Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Durban and the East Rand.

Chief director of immigration Mike Bester recently told a meeting of the Chinese Investment Association that all illegal Chinese immigrants would be arrested from January 1.

The Chinese Trade Development Association, formed by a group of people eager to assist the Chinese in their plight, this month asked Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar to reconsider the policy of arrests.

"These people must be repatriated, but it can be done only with their co-operation," said the association's lawyer, Mr Martin Brink.

"The actions of Home Affairs are counter-productive and are forcing people underground. The minister must take a political decision to implement the Immigration Act in such a way that the position can be solved without arrests or threats."

But Home Affairs information chief Chris Pretorius said his department was "legally obliged" to remove all prohibited people from South Africa.

"This is an ongoing exercise and will, if possible, be intensified in the new year," he said.

The influx of illegal immigrants was exposed by the Sunday Times on September 20 after an investigation turned up hundreds of them living in a Hillbrow block of flats, Maddison Square.

Many of them came from Shanghai, Beijing and the provinces of Fujian and Guangzhou.

They saved and borrowed up to R25,000 to pay agents in China, who issued them the return air tickets to Johannesburg via Singapore and Hong Kong, and one-month holiday visas.

They were told the visas would be extended on their arrival and that work was waiting for them. They were also promised free housing.

They were met at Jan Smuts airport by Taiwanese representatives, who abandoned them at Maddison Square.

A spokeswoman for the Chinese Trade Development Association said the agents promised them they would earn salaries of R900, a fortune compared with China, where the highest-paid professional takes home R180 a month.

She said many of the illegal immigrants were intellectuals who had only recently been allowed to travel out of China.

"They get special holiday visas, provided they are visiting a foreign country for 'cultural purposes'," she said.

"If they return to China they will be arrested—and heaven knows what will happen to them then."

# Consultative Forum Says Drought 'Far From Broken' MB2612084792 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The drought is continuing in many parts of South Africa. The Consultative Forum on Drought says the drought gripping parts of Natal, Transkei, and northern Transvaal is far from broken. The forum, which comprises 70 organizations, says good rains in other parts of the country could easily give way to dry conditions in the new year.

Meanwhile, there is grave concern about agricultural conditions in the [Orange] Free State. The Free State Agricultural Union says the heat and dry, warm winds in the province have had a detrimental effect on natural grazing.

The union says the ongoing drought of the past decade has reached a climax during the past two seasons. The union says rain is the only answer and would enable farmers to address a variety of problems.

#### 29 December Review of Current Events, Issues MB2912125592

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Holomisa Indirectly Responsible for Killing Civilians—Transkei's military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, has admitted he has supplied the Azanian People's Liberation Army, APLA, and the African National Congress, ANC, military wing—Spear of the Nation, MK—with Transkei Defense Force weapons, notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 December. "His admission strengthens the view that he cannot escape culpability, however indirect, for the killing of civilians in towns near the SA-Transkei border." Holomisa defends the supply of weapons to APLA and MK insisting it is necessary to "enable them to protect their leaders from right-wing attacks when they visit Transkei. His rationale is unconvincing. The task of protecting PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]

or ANC leaders in Transkei lies with Transkei soldiers and policemen. It should not be abrogated to private armies." Holomisa should "beware on two counts. He may lose control—if he has not already begun to do so—to the very forces he is seeking to appease. He may also bring on himself the retribution of 'hot pursuit' by South African security forces. If so, he must not count on support or even sympathy from the international community. It does not recognise Transkei and would not see the presence of South African forces there as a violation of Transkei's sovereignty."

#### **BUSINESS DAY**

Editorial Views Goldstone Violence Findings-Commenting on Judge Richard Goldstone's third interim report on violence, Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 29 December in a page 4 editorial says: "Goldstone seems to be losing confidence in the ability of politicians to put things right, at least when it comes to creating the kind of climate essential for a peaceful transition to democracy." "While there is some criticism of the police in the commission's report on the violence in Mooi River, and judgment is reserved on the wider role of the SA Defence Force, Goldstone has no doubt that rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC remains 'a primary trigger of violence'. Goldstone stresses there is a need for tolerance and freedom of political expression. "The commission also has sensible suggestions for penalising politicians guilty of breaching the peace accord, possibly by refusing them permission to address public meetings for a period. This would be a humiliating rebuke for any recalcitrant politician, especially if it were imposed by his own party. Such firm action against irresponsible people supposedly seeking the public good is long overdue.

#### SOWETAN

Organizations Use Goldstone Commission To Beat Down Opposition—A page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 December comments on the reports on violence made public by the Goldstone Commission, saying: "If the reports push the people of this country, from political leaders to the police and the ordinary man and woman in the street, into doing something about the violence, they will have served their purpose. It is time politicians stopped using the commission and its reports for scoring points against opponents. The commission has now become putty, pulled and twisted into all shapes as organisation after organisation asks it to investigate this or that allegation, not because of any genuine search for peace, but in order to beat down the opposition."

#### Angola

#### UNITA on Uige, Negage Withdrawal

MB2812204192 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Yesterday, a joint government-UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] team went to the city of Uige for talks with National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] official. When they arrived, UNITA Vice President Antonio Dembo told the media Jonas Savimbi has already received permission from UNITA to meet President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Dembo was, however, unable to explain how to hold talks when UNITA is still attacking districts. Similarly, the People's Television of Angola team was prevented from reporting what Uige really looks like.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] We have received information that Dr. Jonas Savimbi is willing to negotiate openly with President Eduardo dos Santos. What are your comments on this?

[Dembo] Well, I arrived from Huambo some five days ago. We have had a number of meetings to discuss that matter. President Savimbi has been authorized by our party to begin direct talks with Mr. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

[Reporter] UNITA continues to say it wants to hold talks, but there are indications that UNITA troops continue moving forward in Cuanza Norte Province. What does this mean?

[Dembo] The UNITA troops are not moving forward in that province. I am in contact with our troops in Cuanza Norte. The Cuanza Norte and Caxito issues are to be discussed after the resumption of talks scheduled for Namibe.

[Reporter] Mr. General Dembo: Where is General Ben-Ben?

[Dembo] I have not yet been in touch with Gen. Ben-Ben. I do not know exactly where he is. When I left Huambo, it was said he was in the areas of Quibaxe or Caxito, but I have had no confirmation yet.

[Reporter] Gen. Dembo: What are your views regarding the replacement of General Mango Alicerces as UNITA secretary general?

[Dembo] Gen. Mango Alicerces' replacement is precisely due to the fact that we have not yet had wind of his whereabouts.

[Reporter] And where is General Numa at the moment?

[Dembo] That is something that we will have to look into later. We have a meeting now and we will be able to answer those questions later. [end recording]

#### **UNITA Reports Withdrawal**

MB2812073592 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] It has been confirmed that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops have been withdrawn from Uige and Negage. Yesterday, a UNAVEM-2-government delegation toured the two cities and confirmed the withdrawal. UNITA Vice President Colonel Antonio Sebastiao Dembo, who made that possible, said he was happy with had been achieved, adding that the doors for dialogue had been opened. He added that a UNITA-Government Technical Commission had been established to put the final touches on the matter.

Meanwhile, the economic blockade imposed by the Marcolino Moco's government in Uige could be lifted today. The government administration in Uige and Negage will be reinstated this week, and UNITA has not raised any objections. UNITA, however, has asked the government to adhere to human rights and accept different political views.

#### OAU Ad Hoc Committee Visits, Holds Talks

#### **Committee Arrives**

MB2712125892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Report from the Presidency of the Republic by Radio Angola reporter Luis Fernando]

[Text] Talks have already begun between His Excellency Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the OAU team which arrived in Luanda shortly after 0900. That OAU team, which includes Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, Cape Verde President Antonio Mascarenhas, and OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, has come to Angola to try and encourage political dialogue.

The meeting between the Angolan head of state and the OAU team is expected to focus on the political and military crisis that followed the September elections. According to the official program handed out to us, that OAU team is scheduled to remain among us until 29 December.

An important detail is that the OAU team's itinerary makes no mention whatever of an eventual trip to Huambo for talks between the OAU team and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] leadership. That possibility had been insistently raised over the last few days, and analysts believe that it is fundamental to try and bring Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi closer together. In any case, the program provides for a meeting between the OAU team and the leaders of political parties represented in Parliament, at Luanda's Palace of the Congress at 1600 today.

#### Mugabe on Huambo Trip

MB2812203792 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has said at a news conference that Luanda is the only capital of Angola. He said Luanda is where the parliament and the government headquarters are. Accordingly, he said, it is in Luanda where a meeting with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], must be held. Robert Mugabe was thus explaining why the OAU Ad Hoc Commission did not go to Huambo to meet with Jonas Savimbi. The Zimbabwean president said the OAU has not ended its mission and it hopes to use language that Jonas Savimbi will understand because all forms of persuasion have been used. I am certain he will understand. Robert Mugabe said.

[Begin Mugabe recording in English with passageby-passage translation into Portuguese—processed from English] We share the same socioeconomic concerns and we are associated one with another in our endeavors in this region, southern region, African region, in order for us to improve the lot of our people. Whether you are talking to the leader of Angola or you are talking to the leader of a party in Angola, you are still talking to an African person, you are talking to a brother or you are talking to a sister.

The ambition that Dr. Savimbi has, one day to become the leader of Angola, the national leader of Angola, that is, the president of Angola; if that ambition is fulfilled, he will find himself working with us, he will find his neighbors being Africans, he will find the regional organizations to which Angola belongs, being organizations that have African members, because he is bound to us, Angola is bound to us by geography and history. He is bound to us by culture, and we feel that if he takes all these concerns into account, these interests into account, he should be motivated, as we are, to listen more to us than he will tend to listen to others.

We are with him as a neighbor for all times. He cannot avoid us, in the same way as we cannot avoid him. He is an Angolan and although we may be citizens of Cape Verde, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, we are his neighbors in Africa. We are his compatriots and what we say must have more meaning to him. It is that persuasion which has brought us and which will continue to prompt us to search for peace in Angola.

Why did we not go to Huambo? For obvious reasons, I will be frank with you. We regard Luanda as the only capital of Angola and here it is that you have parliament. Here it is that you have the headquarters of the government. Here it is that we are meeting all the other leaders of the various parties, and here it is also that we must meet the leader of UNITA. But we recognize that he might have his own inhibitions, and this is why we have allowed this other option of our meeting him elsewhere. But whatever happens in the future, Luanda remains the capital unless the people of Angola change it as the

capital and adopt another. If they should adopt another capital, another town as the capital, well, we will recognize at that time as the capital of Angola and there also we shall meet [word indistinct] but we can't meet them in other places that are not the capital of Angola or places that are not approved by the people of Angola, by the government. [end recording]

#### Cape Verdean President Comments

MB2512084892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Cape Verdean President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro yesterday expressed great concern over the situation in Angola. Mascarenhas will soon try to arrange for a summit between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. The Cape Verdean head of state was speaking to journalists in the Belem Palace in Lisbon, where he held talks with his Portuguese counterpart Mario Soares on the situation in Angola, Cape Verde and Portugal. Mascarenhas Monteiro, who has been in Lisbon since 23 December, leaves today for Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, where he is to meet OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, and his Zimbabwean counterpart Robert Mugabe, to discuss his role as part of an OAU ad hoc mission to travel to Angola on 28 December.

#### Mugabe Receives Medal

MB2812084892 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT '92

[Text] The National Assembly today awarded the Agostinho Neto Medal to Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in recognition of his role in the struggle against colonialism in Africa. Speaking on the occasion, National Assembly Vice Chairman Lazaro Dias said:

[Begin Dias recording] We have just witnessed the bestowing of one of Angola's highest awards on His Excellency Dr. Robert Mugabe, a (?distinguished) president of modern Africa. He was elected by a resounding majority and succeeded in establishing a civilized democracy in Zimbabwe. [end recording]

Afterward, the president of the Republic hosted a luncheon at the Futungo de Belas in honor of OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, and Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde.

#### Opposition Urged To Work For Peace

MB2812145192 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has appealed to the leaders of Angola's opposition parties to work for peace in the country. President Mugabe made the appeal while holding talks with representatives of a number of opposition parties in the capital, Luanda. He

is heading an Organization of African Unity delegation that has been sent to Angola to try to arrange a meeting between the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement and the Angolan Government.

#### Team Ends Visit, Departs

MB2912065492 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] The OAU Ad Hoc Commission ended its visit to Angola today. Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Mascarenhas Monteiro of Cape Verde, and OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim carried out an intense activity this morning, thus having truly familiarized themselves with the situation in Angola.

Robert Mugabe and Salim Ahmed Salim left Luanda together, while the Cape Verdian president will leave tomorrow. Shortly before leaving Luanda, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim met with President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos in one of the protocol rooms at 4 February International Airport. The meeting served to review the visit of the OAU Ad Hoc Commission to Angola. [passage omitted]

This morning, the OAU Ad Hoc Commission held a meeting with the deputies of the National Assembly. [passage omitted] Shortly thereafter, the OAU Ad Hoc Commission received Margaret Anstee, special representative of the UN secretary general in Angola. [passage omitted]

#### Government, UNITA Delegations Meet in Cunene

MB2812084592 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] In order to search for a political solution to the ongoing disputes in the country, particularly in Cunene Province, the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] met recently in Santa Clara, on the border with Namibia. The two delegations reviewed issues discussed at previous meetings. The delegations were headed by Cunene Province Governor Pedro Mutinde for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and UNITA General Samuel (Chiwale). The two sides agreed to implement the following:

- A. War should not resume.
- B. An efficient channel of communications should be established between UNITA and the government.
- C. The two sides should meet whenever necessary.

#### **UN Document Disputes Fairness of Election**

MB2812124092 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Dec 92 p 9

[Report by Gerald L'Ange: "Angola Poll May Not Have Been So Free and Fair"] [Text] A United Nations document that has not been made public casts doubt on the UN finding that the Angolan election last September was free and fair.

The document appears in fact to directly contradict the finding by the UN special representative in Angola, Margaret Anstee, and tends to support the claim by Jonas Savimbi's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement that the election was so marred by irregularities as to be invalid.

A senior official at UN headquarters in New York has denied that the document can be construed as contradicting Anstee's ruling and has said that the irregularities did not constitute a "pattern of fraud" and therefore did not invalidate the result.

Yet the document, which summarises the finding of provincial committees that investigated UNITA's complaints of irregularities, concludes that "in some cases the volume of votes lost or gained by each candidate could, taken nationally, be significant as to distort the final results".

The issue has become academic since Savimbi, though still alleging fraud, has accepted the ruling MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] victory in the parliamentary election. The UN document nevertheless throws an important new light on UNITA's allegations of fraud and may help to explain the vehemence of its protests and the stubbornness of its initial refusal to accept the election outcome.

It raises another question which, while now also academic, has historical significance. It is this: was Anstee ordered by UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to ignore the negative findings of the provincial investigative committees and make a positive ruling on the fairness of the election in the belief that to do otherwise would create even worse problems?

This hypothesis is thrust into prominence by the stark contrast between the finding of the provincial committees and that of Anstee.

Faced with the report of the provincial committees, Butrus-Ghali would have had powerful reasons for ordering his representative to override them.

To invalidate the election could have opened up an even bigger can of worms than to falsely validate it. The election would almost certainly have had to be annulled and held again. Not only would this have raised the possibility of the whole peace process breaking down into renewed warfare but it would have required a much greater UN involvement than the first time round—something the UN could ill afford.

With hindsight, there is now general agreement that the UN monitoring presence was hopelessly inadequate. There were not enough monitors to cover all polling stations and Anstee's eventual finding appears to have been based in effect on a sampling rather than a scrutiny of the polling.

Had a second election been agreed to, the UN would have had to write off its expenditure on the first one and find funds for even bigger expenditure on the second, and this at a time when it was struggling to meet demands for monitoring and peacekeeping operations in several other parts of the world.

The temptation would have been strong for Butrus-Ghali to say to Anstee something like this: "Never mind the finding of the provincial committees. We simply cannot afford to have another election in Angola, especially as the indications are that it would have the same outcome. So you just go ahead and rule that it was free and fair."

As it happened, the peace process did break down into violence that very nearly degenerated into a return to all-out war. But at the time of Anstee's ruling it may well have seemed to Butrus-Ghali that such a finding would be more likely to stop war than provoke it.

It is doubtful that this hypothetical scenario will ever be confirmed even if it is true. It must be presumed to be untrue unless the contrary is proved. But the validity of the Anstee finding will have to find a place in history beside the remarkably contradictory conclusions of the provincial committees.

Their report was dated October 16, the day before Anstee released her "free-and-fair" finding.

After detailing a number of irregularities, it says: "It may generally be concluded that there were irregularities discovered in the electoral process which could have affected the overall outcome of the voting. In some cases the volume of votes lost or gained by each candidate could, taken nationally, be significant as to distort the final results."

The authenticity of the document has been confirmed by Kofi Anan, Assistant Secretary-General in the office of Marrack Goulding, the Under-Secretary-General in charge of UN peacekeeping operations.

But Anan said there was no evidence of a pattern of fraud that would have "had a negative impact" on the result of the election. Therefore the UN had concluded that it was a free and fair election, and the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community had come to a similar conclusion.

It is possible, of course, that both these bodies agreed that it would be better all round to certify the MPLA's victory, irregular though it might be, than to go to the trouble and expense of another poll just to legalise the same outcome.

We may never know, because when decisions of this kind are taken at that level they seldom get into the history books; they don't even get put into writing.

#### FAA Officer on UNITA 25-26 Dec Operations

MB2912075592 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] murdered a traditional chief and his wife in Lunda Norte Province on 26 December. On the same day, Jonas Savimbi's soldiers killed two women in Malange. UNITA troops shelled the Panguila and Barra do Dande locations in Bengo Province. UNITA has also shelled the town of Dange-a-Menha, and attacked the bridge over the Lucala River in Cuanza Norte Province. According to Brigadier Jose Manuel Jota, the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA, reacted to all those operations.

[Begin recording] [Jota] Troops from Caxito moved close to FAA positions in Barra do Dande and Panguila. Those troops shelled our positions. FAA reacted, conducting a hot pursuit operation. Unfortunately, we do not have the final results of that operation.

[Reporter] Would you like to give details about what happened in Dange-a-Menha and Lucala?

[Jota] Dange-a-Menha is a springboard for both government and UNITA forces in operations that they may carry from Dondo against Ndalatando or from Ndalatando against Dondo. FAA units are in control of Dange-a-Menha, and obviously UNITA has not yet given up the idea of raiding Dondo. So, at the end of a reconnaissance operation, several UNITA forces shelled FAA positions, but met with the immediate response. A vehicle was captured.

The bridge over the Lucala River is in government hands, though it has been destroyed. We intend to reconstruct that bridge in he near future. FAA units deployed in nearby areas were shelled.

[Reporter] What about Malange Province? We know that the city of Malange is practically surrounded by UNITA which has attacked the residents, killing some of them. Would you like to comment?

[Jota] On 26 December, UNITA murdered two women some 8 km from the city of Malange. Our forces clashed with UNITA in that area, killing two UNITA members and capturing five others.

[Reporter] What is the situation in Lucapa and Dundo locations of Lunda Norte Province? There have been reports of UNITA actions there, as well as of counterattacks by the police force.

[Jota] UNITA raided the Lucapa police command on 25 December, wounding three policemen and killing a civilian. A civilian was also injured. The police reacted, bringing the situation under control.

[Reporter] What about Dundo?

[Jota] There was a UNITA action on 25 or 26 December. UNITA murdered traditional chief (Camacumba) and his wife as it tried to steal the chief's cattle. FAA units deployed in the area, backed by the residents, reacted and killed (?two) UNITA elements.

[Reporter] Is the FAA in a position to guarantee that no location will fall in UNITA hands?

[Jota] Everything is being done toward that end. [end recording]

#### UNITA Not To Hand Over Cunhinga District

MB2412162392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] today refused to hand Cunhinga District to Bie Government authorities. The handing over of the district was agreed upon yesterday at a meeting between the government and UNITA, under the observation of the UN Angola Verification Mission [UNAVEM]-2. This morning, only government and UNAVEM-2 officials appeared at UNAVEM-2 head-quarters, however. General Epandu, who was supposed to lead the UNITA delegation, failed to appear.

#### Police Reportedly Repel UNITA Raid

MB2612140092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Two Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] companies yesterday raided the Dangea-Menha Commune of Cuanza Norte Province. The National Police reacted promptly, putting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces to flight.

Reports from that region say that over the past few days UNITA has been conducting a manhunt campaign against traditional leaders to murder them. UNITA says it will replace those leaders with people trusted by Jonas Savimbi.

Witnesses say that UNITA continues to recruit youths, who are then sent to South Africa and Morocco to undergo intense military training. Youths, who have managed to escape from Ndalatando, say that Jonas Savimbi's organization is still moving its forces in an attempt to raid Cambambe District. [passage omitted]

An authorized military source told Radio Nacional today that there have been no major changes in the Angolan military situation over the past 24 hours. The source says there is still an atmosphere of tension characterized by threats and provocations against the police force, and the movement of FALA troops either relieves or strengthens UNITA positions. The source reported UNITA troop movements from Huambo and Bie Provinces to Cuando Cubango Provinces.

It will be recalled that UNITA still occupies large areas of Angola from whence it has expelled the government. According to refugees, UNITA is committing abuses and preventing the movement of cargo vehicles. The refugees say UNITA is unable to provide food for the residents.

#### MPLA Said To Launch Ndalatando Artillery Attack

MB2712045992 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] In Cuanza Norte Province on 24 December, Manuel Pedro Pacavira and other officials of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] ordered a bloody self- propelled artillery attack on civilians living on the outskirts of the city of Ndalatando. The attack was supported by fighter planes, resulting in the death and wounding of many defenseless civilians. [passage indistinct]

#### UNITA Troops Said Posing as MPLA Members

MB2812084692 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops are wearing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] T-shirts whenever they move into specific areas of Cuanza Norte Province to carry out military operations. That was disclosed by civilians from the city of Ndalatando which has been occupied by UNITA. [passage omitted]

It has also been learned that the National Police have neutralized a UNITA command unit near one of the pillars of the Lucala bridge in Cuanza Norte Province's (Cassualala) region.

#### MPLA Troops Said To Land in Namibe 24 Dec

MB2812134392 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Another military contingent of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party arrived at the port of Namibe on 24 December aboard the ship Angela. The objective of the contingent is to dislodge the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola from the area and massacre innocent civilians. [passage omitted]

#### Luanda Reports UNITA Activities in Bie

MB2812153592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The situation in the city of Kuito, Bie Province, could worsen with the movement of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] today. According to an authorized source from the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces, UNITA killed a traditional chief and his wife at (Cambalicumba) Ward in Vundo for having prevented its forces from stealing his cattle. Two women have also been killed by Jonas Savimbi's men on the outskirts of Malange. Yesterday, government forces retaliated against an attack by FALA forces when they tried to occupy the strategic Panguila bridge, 40 km from Luanda.

#### UNITA Column Moves From Huambo to Bie

MB2912075392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is involved in movements from Huambo to Bie. The government has learned that that has to do with the transportation of high-ranking UNITA officials from one province to another, but has advised that organization to notify the authorities. General Higino Carneiro comments:

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] Obviously, those forces have left Huambo as part of a large column. We believe that high-ranking UNITA officials form part of that column. We are worried because there should have been an exchange of information in order to prevent any setbacks which could be difficult to curb in the future.

[Unidentified reporter] Are you aware that high-ranking Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] officers and UNITA officials are part of that column?

[Carneiro] Yes, we are aware of that.

[Unidentified reporter] Could you be more precise?

[Carneiro] I do not think that is necessary. It would be good to ask that to UNITA which has organized the column. [end recording]

[Announcer] Speaking to Radio Nacional yesterday, Gen. Carneiro admitted that the political and military situation has deteriorated in the past few days. As an example he mentioned UNITA's attempt to destroy the bridge on the Catete-Dondo road, the harassment of Malange residents, and the UNITA attack on Angolan Armed Forces, FAA, personnel in Panguila and Barra do Dande.

Turning to the controversial situation in the cities of Uige and Negage, Higino Carneiro pointed out that state administration will only be reinstated there once all the necessary conditions have been created.

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] The reinstatement of state administration does not depend on the return of residents alone. It is necessary to create conditions to administer the area. State infrastructures have been destroyed, and so it is necessary to renovate them. That will take time.

[Unidentified reporter] The joint commission established in Uige was supposed to tour other areas of Uige Province occupied by UNITA. Has the commission done that? [Carneiro] Well, the commission was supposed to verify UNITA's claim that it had withdrawn its forces from Uige, and deployed them in the Bungo and Quipedro assembly points. The commission will have to tour those areas to see whether UNITA troops are there or not. [end recording]

Meanwhile, an authorized military source has disclosed that an FAA contingent has been in Uige since yesterday in order to gain control of military installations in Uige and Negage.

#### UNITA Kills 2 Along Gabela-Sumbe Road

MB2912132592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] destroyed a vehicle in Pocobeto area, along the road between Gabela and Sumbe, yesterday. Two people were killed and another eight suffered wounds, as a result of that attack. [passage omitted]

#### Swaziland

#### Zambia's Chiluba Sends 'Confidential' Message

MB2912071792 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 29 Dec 92 p 24

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "Chiluba Sends Message to King"]

[Text] Zan bian President, Frederick Chiluba has sent a confidential message to His Majesty King Mswati III. However, because the King is already in seclusion for the sacred Incwala [tasting of the first fruits] ceremony, the president's special envoy, Mr Paul Tembo delivered the message to Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini. Mr Tembo, who is also Zambia's deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry delivered the secret message on Saturday [26 December] morning at Government House. Also present was a member of the Defence Council, Prince Mahebedla and the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr Barnabas Mhlongo. Mr Tembo arrived in the country on Thursday [24 December] and was met at the airport by Mr Mhlongo. Efforts to establish the contents of the message proved futile.

Two weeks [ago], Nigerian president, Ibrahim Babangida also sent a special envoy to deliver a confidential message to the King. The delegation comprised two Nigerian ministers, Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister, Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim and Minister for Health, Professor Olikoye Ramsome-Kuti.

#### Guinea-Bissau

# Foreign Diplomats Call for Increased Security AB2912112792 Paris AFP in French 1447 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Bissau, 28 Dec (AFP)—Foreign diplomats in Guinea-Bissau have asked the Guinea-Bissau Government to strengthen security in Bissau, the capital, in order to fight against the renewed outbreak of crime, official sources reported on 28 December. This request was made at a meeting with Guinea-Bissau's Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Minister Bernardino Cardoso, after a Canadian woman was raped in Bissau last week.

According to foreign diplomats in Bissau, the increasing spate of crime is mainly marked by armed attacks, hold-ups in homes, and frequent street attacks. The Guinea-Bissau authorities promised to institute rapid measures to protect individuals and strengthen police patrols especially at night and in areas without lighting facilities.

Police sources reported on 28 December that 70 suspects, including several aliens, were arrested in Bissau on Christmas Eve during a clampdown and are still being detained. The same sources attributed the upsurge in the crime wave in Bissau to the apathy of the police forces and the prevailing economic crisis in Guinea-Bissau where salaries are not paid on a regular basis by government.

#### **Ivory Coast**

#### Fifteen Parties Form Union of Democratic Forces

AB2912112492 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] About 15 political parties, including the Ivorian Socialist Party, Ivorian Workers Party, and Social Democratic Movement, have decided to merge for a common fight within a single movement of action and struggle which will be known as the Union of Democratic Forces [UFD]. For the attainment of genuine democracy in the Ivory Coast, UFD promises to promote a society based on the rule of law, the effective separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and the political neutrality of the Army and the administration. It also promises to strive for the meeting of its demands for the adoption of an electoral code and the setting up of a national electoral commission which, in future, will guarantee fair, open, and democratic elections.

The ceremony took place at Sofitel Hotel on 28 December. Mr. Soumah Yadi, secretary general of the Liberal Party of Ivory Coast was elected UFD spokesman for a three-month period.

#### Mali

#### President Comments on Return From DPRK. PRC

AB2712120492 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1300 GMT 26 Dec 92

#### [Recorded passages in quotation marks]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The president and his delegation returned to Bamako this morning after visiting the DPRK and the PRC. At Bamako-Senou, the head of state was welcomed by Prime Minister Younoussi Toure and members of the government and the National Assembly. After these visits, President Alpha Oumar Konare first said that Mali supports the DPRK in its reunification process. As for the relations between our two countries, the level of bilateral exchanges were increased:

[Konare] "When you examine the volume of exchanges between the DPRK and Mali, you will wonder why it is so low, considering the good relations between our two countries. We have maintained constant bilateral relations for several years. During this visit, we worked toward increasing the level of exchanges. I can assure you that we benefited from good understanding on the part of the DPRK authorities who, despite a difficult situation in the DPRK itself, it must be said, decided to concretely express their solidarity with the new Mali. I think in the coming weeks, missions will go to either country to concretize this solidarity. The way is open for various kinds of exchange between Malians and the people of the DPRK, even at the level of enterprises. This is a particular plan. We will also very certainly receive the DPRK's technical support in the field of embroidery and handicraft. Of course, the DPRK also intends to find the means to express its solidarity with Mali regarding the problem in the north."

[Announcer] The second leg of this visit was in the PRC where the head of state met with several high-level political personalities. With the PRC, Alpha Oumar Konare remarked, the relations of cooperation are exemplary in all points of view and cannot be calculated in money:

[Konare] "Relations between Mali and the PRC are very old. Our choosing the PRC was a sovereign act and for almost 25 years now, our cooperation with them has covered all fields: agriculture, industry, construction, health, and education. It also went through different legal forms. At the beginning, PRC aid went to state companies. Now, PRC aid goes to parastatals. There are even private PRC companies operating in Mali. A large number of Malians pursue their studies in the PRC. It was therefore normal that during this visit, we should review this PRC-Mali cooperation to note areas of satisfaction and clearly express the need to increase this cooperation for the mutual interest of our two peoples. We unequivocally said that our friendship with the PRC could not be expressed in terms of money. That clearly

means that we have not come to outbid anyone at a time when, as you well know, there are all kinds of offers here and there. Our friendship with the PRC is a friendship of heart and reason. The PRC has greatly contributed to our economic development. The PRC is decided to involve itself deeply in Mali. During our various discussions, we reviewed this cooperation. Existing fields of cooperation will be intensified concerning the SOMATEC [expansion unknown], SOCALA [expansion unknown], Parakou, and the PRC presence in the pharmaceutical industries sector in Mali. But the PRC also offers other prospects for cooperation. Today, the PRC is prepared to plan contacts among regions, municipalities, and enterprises. PRC partners are prepared to receive Malian private businessmen because it is a question of the choice by both sides to boost private initiative. [passage omitted]

"As you have noticed, our visit to the PRC was very strongly marked by the high-level meetings which we held not only with the president and the prime minister, but also with the Communist Party secretary general."

[Announcer] President Alpha Oumar Konare was satisfied after these visits. The PRC has once again shown its support to our country in its development efforts:

[Konare] "I think we have many reasons to be satisfied. We observed with satisfaction that both the DPRK and the PRC are very keen to help the new Mali. The PRC and the DPRK will both be at our sides for our economic development in a particular manner. They both expressed their determination to express their solidarity with Mali in connection with the question of the north. The PRC reaffirmed its commitment to the ongoing projects. It is true that during my visit two protocol agreements were signed. An agreement involving almost 2.5 billion CFA francs for development projects was signed and a donation worth about 100 million CFA francs was made to support our actions in the north."

#### Prime Minister Comments on Budget Priorities

AB2612150892 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Excerpt] After the opening of the extraordinary session of the National Assembly this morning, the prime minister spelled out the government's 1993 budget priorities in an interview granted to Seydou Guindo. Here is Younoussi Toure:

[Begin recording] In its design and preparation, the 1993 budget clearly reflects the government's priorities. The government's chief priority is peace first and foremost—the restoration of peace and security in the north and in the hinterland as a whole. So the budget makes provision for the return and resettlement of displaced persons to their areas of origin and seeks to implement schemes that will enable them to earn a descent living. The budget also takes account of all that falls under institutional support—namely the

state's presence in all areas, including districts and administrative divisions where public workers fled from insecurity. The budget also caters for the incorporation of combatants in our national army. These are the priorities regarding the restoration of peace and security in the north and the rest of the country.

The 1993 budget also takes account of our country's priorities in the economic and social sectors, with priorities in the latter sector being given to basic education. We want to take the necessary steps right away to reverse the imbalances in the educational system. The 1993 budget also takes account of other social aspects like health. It equally takes into consideration the general problems facing the national economy in the industrial sector—all the industries currently in distress and all ongoing projects. The government will provide the necessary resources to rehabilitate these industries so as to preserve employment and increase GNP. The government will also place emphasis on new projects, particularly in the mining sector. For the time being, this is what I can say about the 1993 budget.

I would, however, like to stress budget management. The government has decided to operate rigid budget management, and urges all public services and officials to work toward ensuring that for the first time ever the waste noted in the past is eliminated once and for all. At any rate, we will resist anytime we notice laxity in the day to day running of affairs. Where there is waste, we will be firm in stamping it out. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### First Day of Businessmen's Strike Under Way

AB2912074892 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Today is the first day of the strike by businessmen. Traders are demanding that government implement the decisions reached at the recent general conference on trade. Economic activity has slowed down somewhat in Bamako. Moussa Baba Coulibaly, you went downtown. What did you see?

[Coulibaly] Yes, one can say that economic activity was virtually paralyzed today. Wherever we went, from the Bamako central market to Medine market, traders were closed. In front of the shops or stalls, a few young people sat drinking tea or talking about the strike. Others slept or fixed their hair, for want of something better to do.

However, some people were unconcerned about the strike. A few traders who we met, who declined to give their names, did try to get people to buy from their stores.

On the other hand, others seemed to turn the strike to their advantage by asserting that the state will suffer more. It is also noteworthy that pharmacies and the transport sector continued their normal activities.

#### Niger

#### Low Turnout Reported in Referendum

AB2612214992 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] As you know, the Nigerois went to the polls today in connection with the referendum on the draft constitution for the Third Republic. If approved, this draft constitution will return Niger to a country that subscribes to the rule of law. It will also consolidate multiparty democracy. Voting was expected to end at 1900 in most constituencies. Attendance, it must be said, was low but the voting was calm. [passage omitted]

The referendum in Agades was marked by low participation of the nomads, and especially women. A characteristic of this referendum in Agades is that no awareness campaign was undertaken by the administrative or political authorities, not even by the [words indistinct], and added to this are the numerous rebellion problems. The result is that a large number of people in the remote areas do not have any electoral cards. According to the deputy subprefect of Tilaberi, Mr. Ibrahim Issa, who was interviewed by telephone this afternoon, the low participation by the nomads can be explained by their refusal to participate in the census after an appeal by the UDPS [expansion unknown] central committee. Another reason is the rejection by the transitional authorities of a proposal to institute the federal system and to negotiate the rebellion problem with the rebels of the Font for the Liberation of Air and Azaouak. [passage omitted]

#### **HCR Urges General Before Presidential Elections**

AB2912111092 Dakar PANA in English 0950 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Niamey, 29 Dec. (ANP/PANA)—Niger's interim legislature, the High Council of the Republic (HCR), has opted for the holding of legislative elections in January before presidential elections to usher in the country's Third Republic, an HCR statement said in Niamey on Monday [28 December].

The government had last week submitted a time-table fixing the first and second round presidential elections on 23 January and 6 February 1993 and for the legislative polls to be held on 23 February.

The HCR statement said holding the legislative elections which will involve a smaller geographical area (electoral districts), will provide the organisers the opportunity to improve logistics and correct possible problems to make for a hitch-free and transparent presidential polls.

Some 88.93 per cent of the electorate in Niger voted in favour of a new Constitution for the Third Republic in a nation-wide referendum held on Saturday [26 December].

#### Cabinet Explains Postponement of Cheiffou Trip

AB2512174992 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Report on Cabinet meeting in Niamey on 21 December; read by government spokesman Albert Wright—recorded]

[Text] The Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting chaired by Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou on 21 December. At this meeting the contents of the High Council of the Republic [HCR] communique from 21 December was discussed. This communique urgently called on the prime minister to suspend his visit to Algeria because of some social upheavals.

It is true that the internal situation is has some elements of threats and challenges to the democratization process, with the renewal of rebel attacks and the salary and material claims by some partners, including the National Teachers' Union of Niger [SNEN] and the Niger Students' Union.

However, it is worth recalling that the prime minister's visit to Algeria was decided after the 12 December tripartite meeting between the main organs of the transition, namely the president of the Republic, the HCR, and the government. In fact, that meeting came after many consultations on some important transitional issues, including the rebellion. So, the decision to go to Algeria resulted from a detailed examination of the findings of the ad hoc commission charged with finding a negotiated solution to the rebellion problem. The purpose was also to assess the progress made in discussions with some rebel spokesman, as part of ongoing regular contact, and evaluate the latest developments linked with difficulties in organizing elections to end the transition.

Since then, official arrangements have been made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation with the Algerian authorities to set the date and conditions for the prime minister's visit. The Algerian Government finally decided that the prime minister should visit on 22 December.

Given these facts, and considering that the rebellion is a top priority—especially with the referendum approaching—and considering the appeals made by several national political figures for a quick cease-fire, which is necessary for the smooth organization of the forthcoming elections, the government felt that the current social problems, whose seriousness it fully appreciates, should not hamper this trip, which is so crucial for internal peace, especially since it was to last only 48 hours.

Concerning the social situation, the government, which is always in contact with its partners, the SNEN and the Federation of Labor Unions, has begun reconciling with SNEN to end the strike. Similarly, it continues to try to find ways to overcome the (?public debts), which are

mainly due to the economic and financial difficulties that our country has faced for several years now and for which there is no immediate solution.

Therefore, it is regrettable that the HCR took the initiative of challenging such an important trip without consulting the prime minister about the relevance of such a decision. Our credibility and public image abroad have been sorely tested by these sudden and capricious reversals which question the joint engagements reached with friends from outside.

The government deplores the unfortunate event that has caused the prime minister's mission to be postponed until a later date. This contact visit is certainly necessary to settle the rebellion problem. The government will, therefore, resume consultations with other transition organs in order to reschedule the trip as soon as possible. I thank you.

#### Nigeria

#### Police Warn Against Disrupting Transition

AB2912073092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 2100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The police have warned that they will deal ruthlessly with miscreants and lawless elements who are bent on fomenting trouble to disturb the final phase of the transition to civil rule program. In a statement in Lagos today, the police drew attention to the activities of some human rights organizations planning to precipitate violence on university campuses as a springboard to causing trouble in towns and cities. It says that the real motive behind the disturbances is to advance the cause of those opposed to the extension of military rule to the 27th of August next year. The police then alerted student bodies, parents, and people of the plot and warned the planners of the consequences of such evil designs.

#### Togo

# Commentary Seeks End to Leadership Crisis AB2712131792

[Editorial Report] Lome Radio Lome in French at 1230 GMT on 26 December carries an 8-minute commentary by Yakoubi Tsatsi Bara, "deputy director general of communications," entitled "The Combat of Chiefs—

Duel of the Titans," which examines the current situation in Togo. After establishing that according to the Togolese Constitution, man is at the center of all actions, he says that the Togolese people must inspire and direct the actions of the leaders. He says that on 27 September the Togolese people demonstrated that they want a change when they turned to vote for the new Constitution with remarkable enthusiasm. He regrets, though, that the enthusiasm was short-lived: "Partisan interests, personal ambitions, individual passion and sentiment, and even grandiose projects, which were too personalized and carried too much responsibility, have placed the Togolese citizen outside the burning concerns of the very people who claim to care for the people. This, therefore, all too easily and too often led to absurdities and even went as far as criminal acts when the human being was transformed into a political object and the people became a shield for a war in which they were not implicated."

He goes on to cite instances of sociopolitical deviations in the democratic process including the holding of the national conference, which he says "was transformed into the Trial of Nuremberg, putting an end to all hopes of a new Togolese society for a reconciled nation." He goes on: "Political and trade union leaders, against all historical experiences, and against all the norms of organized societies, and against all democratic practices, have decided to sacrifice the Togolese people individually and together in order to get rid of a head of state who, in their opinion, and in the opinion of their supporters, is a personal enemy."

On the current indefinite strike, Tsati Bara thinks labor and political leaders want to run away from elections by putting forward unrealistic and non-negotiable demands and wonders if such machinations cater for the real aspirations of the people.

He concludes by calling for elections, which alone will determine the leader of the country, adding "all those who want to rule or govern the Republic must have the courage to come out in the open to meet one another without any subterfuge, without taking the people hostage, but rather with them serving as referee, and accept the verdict of the ballot box which does not divide but which reconciles the opponents of yesterday into a nation, under the leadership of a chosen leader. This is the combat of leaders—duel of the titans. Anybody who knows he cannot face such elections should pull out instead of drawing the people, the nation, and the Republic into an apocalyptic adventure."

# END OF FICHE DATE FILMED 30 Mac. 1992

